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VOL. VII, PART 1

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TO
INSCRIPTIONS OF
THE PARAMARAS, CHANDELLAS,
KACHCHHAPAGHATAS, ETC.

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THE PARABOLAS, CHANDRAS,
KACHCHHAPADHATAS, ETC.

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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. VII

(IN THREE PARTS)

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE
PARAMARAS, CHANDELLAS,
KACHCHHAPAGHATAS
AND TWO MINOR DYNASTIES

84822

EDITED BY

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PART - I

(WITH 2 MAPS & 4 PLATES)

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P R E F A C E

As early as in 1837 James Prinsep indicated the necessity of systematically arranging the epigraphical materials for the study of ancient history of India under the name *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* which was also suggested by him. Following this scheme, the work of editing this Volume was entrusted to me by the Director General of Archaeology in his letter of 30th March, 1966.

The volume was planned in the beginning to contain the inscriptions of the time of the Paramāras and the Chandēllas; but while preparing materials for my edition of inscriptions of the time of these two royal families, it occurred to me that it was desirable to include in this work the record of some minor dynasties also, which were their contemporaries and reigning in the adjoining region. Thus I have included in this work the records of three other dynasties, namely, the Kachchhapaghātas, the Yajvapālas and the one known only from a solitary stone inscription from Ingnōdā (ancient Rīnganapadra) in the Ratlam District of Madhya Pradesh.

A number of inscriptions of the Paramāras have recently been discovered; they all have found place in the Volume. In the course of my study of these records I found that some of the inferences previously drawn had to be supplemented and some others to be modified. By way of examples, I may mention inscription No. 31, below, which shows for the first time the last regnal year of Udayāditya, No. 21 which tends to show that his son Lakshmadēva probably did not reign as an emperor, and No. 42, which throws a flood of light on the history of the *Mahākumāra* period. All these records have been edited here for the first time, as also most of those belonging to the time of the Junior branches of the Paramāras.

The procedure usually followed by me in editing the inscriptions is to prepare the texts from ink-impressions and in case they were not available, to take help of photographs or previously published facsimiles. In a number of instances I have also compared my reading from the originals. Some of the originals, again, are lost or untraceable, and they were not illustrated by my predecessors who edited or noticed these records; and in such cases I had no other course except to give their actual reading accompanied by my notes.

Most of the impressions (or photographs) were supplied by the Chief Epigraphist; and some by the Museums at Lucknow, Nagpur and Ajmer, the Bhārat Kālā Bhavan of the Hindu University, Vārāṇasī, and the museum attached to the Vikram University, Ujjain. Inked impressions were also received from some other quarters; and though they were helpful in their own way, they are not worth reproducing here. With my acknowledgement to them all for this kind help, it may be remarked here that very few of the impressions besides those provided by the Chief Epigraphist enabled me to edit the records critically and give authentic readings of the texts; and I find it impossible to over-estimate the help rendered to me by him and his office, not only in picking up the required estampages from the extensive heap but also in preparing and supplying some of them. By way of an apt example, I may cite the case of our No. 89 which is incised on the pedestal of an image of Hanumān and was not only besmeared with red lead but the lower part of which containing the date had also some time later been plastered with cement. The cemented portion was broken up and a fresh impression was supplied to me by the efforts of an official of his staff.

This apart, my work was beset with another difficulty. A few of the inscriptions were found partly or wholly hidden behind some later constructions, for example, Nos. 180 and 92, below respectively. In all such cases, I had to satisfy myself by reproducing only their transcripts prepared by my predecessors.

PREFACE

The Introduction to this work gives the political history of the dynasties whose inscriptions are included here; and this Section is followed by an account of the administrative, religious, economic and social conditions of the time, as gleaned mainly from the inscriptions.

The Section on administration has been supplemented by two appendices, the first of which enlists the territorial divisions and the second the place-names mentioned in the inscriptions, alphabetically.

In all these Sections I have placed my attention more on the inscriptions and it is only occasionally that I have given references from the contemporary literature. We have extensive literature on varied subjects composed under the liberal patronage of the Paramāras; and to compress it all in a limited space would hardly do justice to the subject. Time and health permitting, I may be able to deal with it, separately, in future.

It has been rightly said that 'history without chronology is a grand-mother's tale'. Following this maxim, in my narration of the political history of all the branches of the Paramāras and the other dynasties, I have made a tentative attempt to suggest the reigning period of each of the kings. It is all purely hypothetical, as the attempt is made here for the first time.

The texts of inscriptions are all given here in the Nāgarī characters and I have not translated them for fear of increasing the bulk. For I felt that whatever important could be had from the translation is all incorporated either in the editions of the inscriptions or in foot-notes appended to them. The equivalents of the dates occurring in the records had not in many cases been determined previously; and in this task and also in the case of new ones, I have throughout used S.K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*. For identifying place-names I had to obtain maps from various sources, e.g., the Survey, Census and the Revenue departments of the States. While denoting or identifying a place, I have given the *tehsil* and district in which it is included at present and in several cases, the approach-road also. This no doubt entailed much labour, particularly with the changes of the *tehsils* and the districts in modern times.

A few words must be said about putting diacritical marks on geographical names occurring throughout this work. It is generally believed that they are not necessary in the case of modern well-known place-names such as Delhi, Bombay and Allahabad; but I find no uniformity in this respect. For example, Fleet in his *Corpus of the Gupta inscriptions* has used these marks on Allahābād (p.302), Bhōpāl (p.305) and Gwālīor (p. 316); and D.C. Sircar in his *Select Inscriptions* has used them on Bhopāl (p.74), Delhī (p.55), Poonā (p.411) and Allahābād (p.509). I have put these marks in most of these instances, of course leaving the cases of well-known place-names, feeling all the while that they would facilitate reading by foreign scholars. Occasionally I have also used them on names which have been officially recognised, e.g., in the case of Vidishā (so spelt) but not in that of Madhya Pradesh or Uttar Pradesh. Geographical names have all been spelt as they are popular in the locality and also as found in maps, e.g. Mārwaḍ, Ajaygaḍh, etc.

With my advanced age (I am 72 now) and from a recurring eye-disease, it has become somewhat difficult for me to verify the reference, particularly those which I had noted at distant places possessing good libraries and utilising them after returning to my residence where I would resume work. Thus it is likely that some slips may have escaped attention in a work which bristles with references and which resembles, as rightly said, "the mowing of a whole field and not gleaning only a few straws". For all these slips, I crave the indulgence of scholars, in consideration of the maxim *gachchhataḥ skhalanam kv-āpi bhavatyēva pramādataḥ*. Their suggestions, however, will be thankfully acknowledged and I would reap their benefit in my future work.

PREFACE

As I conclude this preface, I cannot help expressing how exciting and exacting, how educative and rewarding, my experience has been for about a decade, during which this work has been my exclusive passion, and jealous taskmaster. It has given me the thrills of "a watcher of the skies when a new planet swims into his ken". Dame Fame (the last infirmity of the noble mind) has been spurring me all the time "to scorn delight and live labourious days" despite advancing age and indifferent health. The intense imaginative sympathy with the "mute inglorious" writers of these epigraphs has awakened me to a vivid realisation of that glorious past in which our traditional cultural anchorages still lie deep. Although the child of our imagination may be a changeling by the time it comes from the nurse, I do sincerely hope that some discerning scholar will notice this labour of love and be inspired to make further advances into this veritable gold-mine.

What remains is the pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations to others. I must first mention the veteran scholars J. Fleet, E.Hultzsch and M.M. Mirashi whose *Corpus* on inscriptions were the models I set before me. From the last-named scholar and from some others, notable among whom are D.C. Sircar, K. Deva and L.O. Joshi, I derived valuable help. Dr. G.S. Gai, K. Deva and P.R. Srinivasan were kind to go through some of the portions of the work and offer their constructive criticism and also encouraged me to complete the work soon. To all these scholars I owe a deep sense of gratitude. I am also thankful to the authorities of the various Museums, the Vikram University, The Oriental Library, Baroda, and last but not the least the Archaeological Survey of India, for giving me facilities for consulting the libraries in their charge. I cannot adequately express my obligation to Shri M.N. Deshpande, Director General of Archaeology (since retired), and to two of his predecessors for their kind consideration and help in various ways. I am particularly indebted to Shri Deshpande who facilitated my travel to distant and remote places for the study of some of the inscriptions *in situ* and who was constantly eager to encourage me in my work when it was in progress.

Indore

H.V. TRIVEDI

Akshaya Tritiya, V.S. 2031

(25-4-1974)

POST SCRIPT

The printing of this volume consisting of three parts was delayed due to various reasons. The proof of part I was corrected at various stages by Dr. Subramonia Iyer and Dr. A. Ramulu, Deputy Superintending Epigraphists working in my office. Besides, Dr. Subramonia Iyer has single-handedly supervised the printing work in all its aspects for which he deserves special thanks. The index to the volume was prepared by Sarva shri T.S. Ravishankar and Jai Prakash, Senior Epigraphical Assistants, Office of the Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, Northern Zone, Jhansi.

I would like to express my thanks to all the gentlemen mentioned above for their help in the printing of this part and Shri J.C. Gupta, Production Officer, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi for getting the part printed through the press and M/s. S. Narayan and Sons, New Delhi for printing the part neatly.

Mysore.
22.11.1991

K.V. Ramesh
Director (Epigraphy)

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INTRODUCTION

POLITICAL HISTORY

THE PARAMĀRAS OF MĀLWĀ

The Paramāras,¹ who were one of the last Hindu dynasties which reigned in Mālwa or Avanti including parts of Gujarāt and Southern Rājasthān, hold an honourable place in the annals of Indian history. These rulers commenced their political career as feudatories of the imperial Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs in about the middle of the tenth century A.C. and in course of time, they succeeded in building a strong kingdom in the heart of the central part of India to the north of the Gōdāvarī, and bounded roughly on the east and west by the Bētwa and the Chambal rivers respectively. They played a dominant part in the history of the country, with strange vicissitudes, for about four hundred years, till they were conquered and finally overthrown by the Muslims in the opening years of the fourteenth century A.C. Their contribution to the field of literature is not less significant.

It is generally held that the region mentioned above came under the sway of the Paramāras in consequence of the protracted war between the two mighty powers, viz., the Gūrjara-Pratihāras in the north (c. 836-1037 A.C.) and the Rāshtrakūṭas in the south (c. 754-973 A.C.), who were both struggling for supremacy in Indian politics. Dantidurga (733-758 A.C.), the founder of the Rāshtrakūṭa house of Mālkheḍ, succeeded in overthrowing the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and is well known to have defeated Nāgabhaṭa, the earliest ruler of the Pratihāra house; and from the Samangad plates dated Śaka 675 (754 A.C.) and the undated Daśavatāra Cave inscription at Ellōrā, we know that this Rāshtrakūṭa ruler fought on the banks of the Māhi, Mahānadi and Rēvā, and won victories over Kāñchi, Kalinga, Kōsala, Śrīśaila, Mālava, Lāṭa and Tañka.² He is also reported to have performed the *Hiranyagarbha-dāna* ceremony, at Ujjain, in which "kings such as the Gūrjara lord and others were made door-keepers".³ The long, protracted war between the two rising powers continued with intervals, for we know from the Rāshtrakūṭa records that at least three of the kings belonging to this dynasty, viz., Dhruva (c. 780-793 A.C.), his son Gōvinda III (c. 793-814 A.C.) and the latter's successor, Indra III (c. 915-927 A.C.), carried their victorious arms into the heart of the Pratihāra kingdom.⁴ In their campaign in the north, the Rāshtrakūṭas always realized the economic and strategic importance of Mālwa and the adjacent areas through which they and their armies passed; and this is why they endeavoured to bring it permanently under their political influence. Verse 24 of the Sañjan plates of Amoghavarsha, dated Śaka 793 (871 A.C.), says that "Gōvinda (III) returned from there (i.e., from his northern expedition), (thinking) that it was the work of the ministerial servants, and following again the bank of the Narmadā, as if (following his own) prowess, and acquiring the Mālava country along with Kōsala, Kalinga,

1 In inscriptions the name is sometimes spelt as *Pavāmra* (No. 16, 13) and *Pramāra* (No. 29, v. 4, and No. 56, 1. 6).

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111 and *P.R.A.S.*, W.C., 1905, p. 92, respectively.

3 The Sañjan plates of Amoghavarsha, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 235 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, 1. 14, pp. 244, 252 and v. 23, p. 245 f. also see *ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 38, 43, v. 19.

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Vaṅga (Vēṅgī), Dahālā and Ōdraka, that Vikrama himself made his servants enjoy them".¹ On the authority of this verse it has been concluded that "Gōvinda III entrusted the charge of the administration of Mālava to one of his vassals, who is admittedly taken to have been Upēndra, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty."²

From which of the royal dynasties the Rāshtrakūṭas captured this part of Mālwa and its adjacent territories is a theme of keen controversy, which may be mentioned here in brief. The reference in the Sañjan plates to a Gūrjarēśa posted as the *pratihāra* in the *Hiraṇyagarbha-dāna* ceremony performed by Dantidurga at Ujjain, as we have noted above, led D.R. Bhandarkar to conclude that a member of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra family was ruling at that place at this time.³ Following him, some other scholars of repute like R.C. Majumdar,⁴ A.S. Altekar,⁵ R.S. Tripathi⁶ and D.C. Ganguly⁷ held that Ujjain was the Pratihāra capital before it was shifted to Kānyakubja. This view is further corroborated by a verse of the Jaina *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa*, which mentions Vatsarāja as the ruler of Avanti⁸ but it is not accepted by others who point out that the Daśavatāra temple inscription makes it clear that the Mālava kingdom was then different from the Gūrjara kingdom which lay somewhere on the seacoast, and after its conquest Dantidurga may have chosen Ujjain, which was a sacred place, for performing the ceremony in which he may have invited the different rulers to participate. The verse of the *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa*, which too has been adduced as an evidence in support of the theory, is, according to them, ambiguously worded and therefore its testimony is doubtful.⁹

It seems, however, that the remark of these scholars, viz., that the Mālava kingdom was then separate from the Gūrjara kingdom,¹⁰ applies only to the earlier time when Dantidurga commenced his career and even for some time thereafter. But during the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, the former of these kingdoms appears to have been under the sway of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras, as is shown by the Pratāpghaṭ grant of Mahēndrapāla II, dated V.S. 1003 (946 A.C.), which mentions his donation of a village situated in the western *pathaka* of Daśapura (Mandasor) for the worship and repairs to the temple of the goddess Vajayakshiṇī, and from the same record we also know that this Pratihāra king had a feudatory under him at Ujjain and that his commander-in-chief (*balādhikṛita*), Śrī-Sarman, was carrying on the affairs of state at Maṇḍapikā or Māṇḍū.¹¹

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 235.

2 *H.P.D.*, pp. 18 f. We have, however, no evidence to conclude definitely on this point. Thus, H.C. Ray was inclined to suggest that Akālavarsha Kṛishṇa II (878-914 A. C.) re-established his control over Southern Gujarāt by defeating his kinsman Dhruva I, who was a feudatory of the main house of the Rāshtrakūṭas but who had made an unsuccessful attempt to shake off the imperial yoke which gave rise to a civil war; and the former's son and successor, Indra III (915-17 A.C.), after his success against this local branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas, appointed the originator of the Paramāra house, the governor of this region. See *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 840 f. But how the Lāṭa branch ended its career is not definitely known. See *The Age of the Imperial Kanauj*, p. 12.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 239.

4 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 22. On p. 19 of *ibid.* the author takes this as a hypothesis and not a proved fact.

5 *A.I.K.*, p. 4.

6 *H.K.*, pp. 219 ff.

7 *H.P.D.*, p. 10.

8 P. 806, v. 52.

9 See *J.D.L.*, Vol. X, pp. 23 ff; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. XI, pp. 161 ff; and *M.T.A.*, pp. 322 f.

10 Here also see D.C. Sircar's view giving cogent reasons for mentioning Avanti and the Gūrjaras separately in the Sirur and Nīlgund inscriptions of Amoghavarsha (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 137 ff). P. Bhatia contradicts this view in *P.B.P.*, p. 26, n. 4. But her points are not convincing as they make a number of successions.

11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 176 ff. Also see V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, p. 226, where he says that Mālwa was included in the dominions of the Pratihāras from whom it was conquered by Kṛishṇa III.

We now take up another question, viz., the origin of the Paramāras. Like the origin of many other dynasties that ruled over the different parts of India during the period under review, that of the Paramāras also is shrouded in mystery. The bardic tradition of the Rājputās regards them as fire-born along with the Pratihāras, the Chaulūkyas and the Chāhamānas. With slight variations in the narrations of the different bards, it relates that once when the wish-fulfilling cow (Kāmadhēnu) of the sage Vasishṭha, who was performing sacrifices on Mount Ābū, was stolen and carried away by the son of Gādhi (Viśvāmitra), he, being indignant threw an offering into the fire with some holy sayings, and as a result of that, a hero, clad in golden armour and adorned with bow and arrows, sprang out from the fire-altar, to receive instructions. The sage ordered him to kill the enemies (*parān māraya*) and called him by the name Paramāra. He also gave the hero his *gōtra*, Vasishṭha. This warrior, according to the tradition, was the originator of the royal family of the Paramāras.¹

The origin of the house to the eponymous Paramara is traced also in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, composed by Padmagupta-Parimala, the court-poet of Sindhurāja² (c. 995-1010 A.C.) and also in the *Tilakamañjarī* which was composed by Dhanapāla during the reign of Sindhurāja's son Bhōjadēva; and it was also adopted in works of much later date, e.g., in the *Prithvirāja-Rāsō* and the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*.³

In this respect, however, we have first of all to remark that the *Agnikula* myth appears to have no historical value, for it is beyond one's comprehension that fire actually produced warriors. The earliest of our inscriptions are ignorant of this origin of the Paramāra house; and as far as epigraphs are concerned, it is found first in the Udaipur *prastiti*, which belongs to the latter part of the eleventh century A.C.⁴ Thus Padmagupta appears to have been the real originator of this theory; his work, after all is a *kāvya*, and he appears to have utilized the bardic legend with a view to glorify the family of his patron. Padmagupta's account was followed by some other works like the *Rāsō* and the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* and even by some later inscriptions; and from this we can conclude that the theory was current in the period when they were written. Moreover the former of these works (*Rāsō*), which embellishes the story with fictitious details, is not fully trustworthy.⁵

In some of our inscriptions we find the name of the progenitor of the family not as Paramāra but as Dhūmarāja, which shows that the sacrificial fire gave rise to smoke which itself assumed the form of a hero. Citing an instance from an inscription from Ābū, G.H. Ojha propounded the view that the theory of the fire-origin of the Paramāras became popular because of the name Dhūmarāja which was given to their first ancestor.⁶ But it may be stated here that this one instance and the others where we find the name Dhūmarāja⁷ are all comparatively late and they have led some scholars to rightly suggest that it is the legend of *Agnikula* which gave rise in course of time to the name Dhūmarāja and the case is not *vice versa*, as Ojha was inclined to hold.⁸

1 Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 113; *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 255; *B.G.*, Vol. IX p. 485.

2 Canto XI, vv. 71 ff.

3 *T.M.*, v. 39; *A.A.*, Vol. II, pp. 214 ff. The *Bhaviṣṭya Purāṇa* traces the origin of the Paramāras as early as the time of Aśoka, during whose reign some Kānyakubja brāhmaṇas performed sacrifice on the Mount Ābū. See *Pratisarga parva*, pt. I, ch. VI.

4 No. 24, vv. 5-6.

5 See *H.M.H.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 18 ff; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 738 ff.; *E.C.D.*, p. 7. Also see our remarks about this work in the account of the Chandēllas.

6 *Rājputāne-kā-līlāsa*, p. 76. The verse reads as *Śri-Dhūmarājāḥ prathamam bābhūva bhū-vāsavaḥ=tatra*. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 210.

7 For example, in Nos. 68, 75 and 82. In the last of these records the hero who sprang from the fire is called Dhūmarāja and the family is named Paramāra.

8 See *P.B.P.*, pp. 11-12.

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The *Agnikula* myth, however, led some European and Indian scholars to interpret it to mean that the Paramāras belong to the Hūna-Gūjara stock, the people belonging to which are believed to have entered India during the fifth and sixth centuries A.C. Watson, Campbell, Hoernle, Forbes, D.R. Bhandarkar and H.C. Ray are inclined to treat them as an offshoot of the Gūjaras,¹ whereas V.A. Smith, who took them as related to the three other *Agnikula* races, mentioned above, actually quoted William Crooke's remarks that the myth "represents a rite of purification by fire, the scene of which was the Southern Rājputāna, whereby the impurity of the foreigners was removed and they became fit to enter the Hindu caste system".² But this view is not supported by our inscriptions, and as already shown by some scholars, the myth can as well be interpreted to signify that some sort of religious rite was performed in the presence of the sacred fire, by a priest (of the Vasishṭha gōtra?) to inspire some brave persons for the protection of religion and culture.³

In his *History of Medieval Hindu India*,⁴ C.V. Vaidya suggested that "the original home of the Paramāras was Mount Ābū, from where they migrated to Mālwa and established a kingdom of their own". This view appears to have been based on the statement of Padmagupta who describes this mountain while giving the origin of the dynasty, and on some later epigraphs.

Considering the original home of the Paramāras, we find that D.C. Ganguly ventured to suggest that they were members of the imperial Rāshtrakūṭa house. His argument rests on the assumption that the Harsōlā grants proceed with the expression *tasmin kulē*, which, according to him, has to be connected with the family of the Rāshtrakūṭas described just before.⁵ But in the absence of a confirmatory and definite evidence, this suggestion must be regarded as a pure guess, particularly when we do not exactly know whether there is a lacuna before *tasmin* in the Harsōlā grants, as doubted by their editors themselves. It is also significant to note here that in case the Paramāras had belonged to the family of the Rāshtrakūṭas, they would not have in any case suppressed this fact but would have certainly mentioned this relation in their grants with a view to glorify their family. Ganguly's argument that Vākpatirāja-Muñja, the son of Siyaka II, adopted the Rāshtrakūṭa titles of *Amoghavarsha*, *Śrīvallabha* and *Prithivīvallabha*, which also lends colour to his view, does not stand on a sound basis, since we find that the Rāshtrakūṭas too are known to have adopted some of the titles of the Western Chālukyas⁶ whom they had overthrown; and it has been understood merely to mean that the former were the successors of the latter in their glory. Ganguly's another assumption, viz., that the original home of the Paramāras was in the Deccan is based on the statement of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, according to which Dhanaji (Dhanāñjaya?), the founder of the family, transferred his seat from the Deccan and established himself in Mālwa, comes from a very late source, and is not known to the inscriptions. Here it is also significant to note that Ganguly has revised his opinion later on, as he remarked that "It is generally assumed that the original home of the Paramāras was Mount Ābū in the Sirōhī State, Rājputāna".⁷

K.N. Dikshit and D.B. Diskalkar, who jointly edited the Harsōlā grants of Siyaka, were inclined to hold that "possibly the Paramāras were descended from a Rāshtrakūṭa princess". They thought that as some of the Vākāṭaka plates begin the genealogy with

1 See respectively *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 147 f.; *B.G.*, Vol. IX, p. 485; *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 31; *Rāsamālā*, Vol. I, p. 34. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 21 ff.

2 *E.H.I.*, 3rd edn., p. 412.

3 *M.T.A.*, p. 329.

4 Vol. II, pp. 117 ff. This view is also held by G.H. Ojha in his *Rājputānē-kā-līhāsa*, Vol. I, p. 191.

5 *H.P.D.*, p. 9.

6 Cf. *Prithivīvallabha*, *Śrīvallabha*, *Ranarasika*, *Bhuvanakandarpa* and *Vīramārtāṇḍa*.

7 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 94.

a description of the Gupta emperors from whom queen Prabhāvatī was descended, so the Paramāras may have descended from the Rāshtrakūṭa kings, Amoghavarsha and Akalavarsha, through a Rāshtrakūṭa princess, and therefore, the present records (Harsolā grants) open with the name of two Rāshtrakūṭa sovereigns".¹

But, as pointed out by these scholars themselves, "a portion of the original draft (of the grants) is missing through the engraver's oversight", and nothing can be definitely said in respect of the relation of the Paramāras with the Rāshtrakūṭas, though scholars like H.C. Ray are also, inclined to hold this view, with some hesitation.²

Differing from all these scholars, D.C. Sircar has to suggest that the early Paramāras, who ruled over Mālava country near the Māhi river, were Mālavas by nationality.³ But we have no evidence to show that in the beginning the Paramāra rulers were known to be Mālavas. In fact they began to be called by this name only after they occupied the Mālava country.

Summarising all the available evidence, however, we may remark here that none of the theories propounded so far in this respect is fully convincing. The real origin of the dynasty being forgotten in course of time, the composers of the grants and the *prasastis* had only to follow the general custom of the age in this respect for tracing the origin of the ruling dynasties to some mythical or legendary hero.

The caste of the Paramāra rulers is the next point requiring discussion. The Udaipur *prasasti* uses the expression *dvija-varga-ratna* (a jewel among the twice-born) while describing Upendra, the founder of the family. The Piplānagar grant of Arjunavarman, dated V.S. 1267 (1211 A.C.) says that the predecessor of this king was a crest-jewel (*śekhara*) of the Kshatriyas,⁴ and accordingly, the Paramāra rulers appear to have been Kshatriyas, which view is corroborated by the *Prabhāvakacharita* which calls Vākpatirāja born in that dynasty as a Kshatriya.⁵ D. Sharma, however, has picked up a reference from the *Piṅgalasūtravṛtti* of Halāyudha, the court-poet of Vākpati-Muñja, according to which his patron was known as belonging to the *Brahma-kshatra* caste. The verse runs as follows:

Brahma-kshatra-kulīnah samastā-sāmanta-nata-charaṇah
Sakala-sukṛitaika-puñjah Śrīmān Muñjaś-chiram jayati 6

On the basis of this evidence, Sharma suggested that Muñja belonged to a family which had the attributes of the Brāhmaṇas as well as of the Kshatriyas, i.e., the learning of the former and the valour of the latter.⁷ On the strength of this explanation, he further concluded that the Paramāras were originally Brāhmaṇas but were called Kshatriyas because they followed the profession of arms later on. But this view is not conclusive, for the expression used by Halāyudha to describe his patron, as already noticed above, may as well mean that Muñja, though a king (Kshatriya), had also the attributes of a learned person (Brahma), i.e., he possessed both these qualities, viz., learning and valour. C.V. Vaidya has already pointed out that the attribute *Brahma-kshatra* is applied to Kshatriyas who were endowed with Brahma, i.e., who had kept up their connection with the Vedic Rishis.⁸

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 239 ff.

2 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 542.

3 *Anc. Mālwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition*, p. 12.

4 No. 47, v. 11.

5 P. 96, v. 324.

6 Ch. IV, p. 49.

7 *Rājasthān Bhārati* (Hindi), Vol. III, No. 2.

8 The expression can also be interpreted as showing him to have belonged to a family sprung from Brāhmaṇa-Kshatriya inter-marriage. See *H.M.H.I.*, Vol. II, p. 62.

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We have no definite information regarding the place where the Paramāras settled themselves, prior to their conquest of the region in Gujarāt. Their association with Rāshtrakūṭas, however, tends to show that their cradle-land was somewhere in the Deccan, whereas, on the other hand, the *Agnikula* legend, if it contains some element of truth, appears to suggest that they originated from an area around Ābū.

The provenance of all the three earliest inscriptions of the house and the identification of the places mentioned therein suggest that the house had its earliest association with Gujarāt, and from this region it later on moved to Mālwa and its adjacent territories from where we have its later records. This view, however, is not accepted by some who take just the opposite case.¹ But we have no indication that this house first established itself at Dhārā, for in that case, the Mōhadavāsaka *vishaya*, in which gifts of land were made by Siyaka, as we know from his Harsōlā grants, would be far away from Mālwa, and, a subordinate chief, howsoever powerful he may have been, was of course unable to control in those troubled days both these territories, viz., Gujarāt and Mālwa, situated at a distance from each other. We are therefore constrained to follow the view that the Paramāras moved from west to the east and not *vice versa*. This view is also in consonance with the statement of verse eleven of the Udaipur *prastiti* in which Vairisimha is said to have "suggested that Dhārā belonged to him", which signifies that this ruler began to make headway in the direction of Dhārā, i.e., towards the east, from Gujarāt.

As regards the genealogy of the early Paramāra rulers and their successors, there is some divergence in the sources themselves, leading scholars to differ on this point; and this question may be examined here at the outset. The land-grants, which are the earliest epigraphic records of the dynasty, give the genealogy of the house as follows:-

Harsōlā grants

(Nos. 1-2)

1. Bappaiparāja
2. his successor, Vairisimha;
3. his successor, Siyaka.

Dharampuri, Ujjain and

Gaonri grants (Nos. 4-7)

1. Kṛṣṇarāja
2. his successor, Vairisimha;
3. his successor, Siyaka.

All these grants, which mention each next ruler as the successor of the preceding one, are silent as to the relationship existing between them and use only the expression *tat-pāda-ānudhyāta*. But from both these lists it is apparent that the second and the third rulers of our inscriptions No. 1-2 are identical with those of Nos. 4-7, and following this, there is no difficulty in identifying Bappaiparāja² of Nos. 1-2 with Kṛṣṇarāja of Nos. 4-7.

On the other hand, quite a different sort of genealogy is drawn from the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, a *Mahā-kāvya* composed by Padmagupta in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.C. as already noticed. According to it, after the eponymous Paramāra, we have Upendra, who is said to have been followed by some kings, who are not named, and after them, are mentioned three rulers, namely, Vākpati, his son, Vairisimha; and his son Siyaka, in succession.³ The use of the expression 'some other kings' (*tad-any-ēshu*) by Padmagupta clearly gives colour to the view that he had no definite information as to the genealogy, and this conclusion is borne out by the fact that he gives exactly the same description about two separate rulers, viz., Paramāra and Upendra, which is a mere repetition.⁴ It is also significant to note here that with the single exception of Siyaka,

1 For example, see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 850.

2 Suggesting that Bappai is the regular Prakrit equivalent of Vākpati, L.D. Barnett remarked that the syllable *pa* after it seems to be a mistake for *ka*, which appears to have been put for metrical exigency. We may also note that the author of the *Gaudavahā* *kāvya* is called by the Prakrit form of the name.

3 Canto XI, vv. 76-90.

4 Cf. vv. 73 and 78 in Canto XI.

the poet's description of all these rulers is more or less conventional and not even a single historical event in connection with any other ruler is mentioned by him.

The same genealogical list, with the addition of some more names, is given in the Udaipur *praśasti*, assigned to the latter half of the same century. The names of rulers found in it are: Upēndrarāja; his son, Vairisimha-Vajrāta, his son, Siyaka; his son, Vākpati; his son, Vairisimha-Vajrāta; his son, Śrī-Harsha; his son, Vākpati. The identification of Upēndra of this list with Kṛishnarāja of the grants, referred to above, is accepted by F.W. Hall, Cunningham and Bühler.¹ But as we have already seen, Kṛishnarāja has to be identified with Bappaiparāja; and in that case we will have only Vairisimha, Siyaka and Vākpati in successive order, after Upēndra, and shall have to omit all the second rulers of the name as found in the *praśasti*; but, on the other hand, if we identify the first-mentioned Vākpati of the *praśasti* with Bappaiparāja of the Harsōlā grants and with Kṛishnarāja of the others,² then only we can have the six successors of Upēndra as mentioned in the *praśasti*.

For all these reasons, C.V. Vaidya suggested that in the later sources, namely, those beginning with the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, the names of Vairisimha, Siyaka and Vākpati are repeated in the genealogy through mistake.³ This suggestion seems to be plausible in view of our observations that these sources describe the first-mentioned rulers by names only in a conventional way, without giving any historical event in connection with them. It has also been noticed above that Padmagupta mentions only one and not two kings of the name of Vairisimha and Siyaka, as we find also in the *Tilakamañjarī*.

The genealogy given in the Udaipur *praśasti* is merely a copy of that which is given in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, of course with some additions, and thus it is not confirmatory as taken by some scholars.⁴ It is not an altogether separate evidence, since the poet of the *praśasti* is expected to know the story of the kāvyā which was composed earlier in the same court.

With these remarks, we now proceed to trace the history of the house.

UPĒNDRA

The first historical king who flourished in the house was Upēndra, who is mentioned by Padmagupta merely as the originator of the dynasty; and the Udaipur *praśasti* definitely says that he was the founder of the reigning house.⁵ This name does not appear in the land-grants, which trace the pedigree of the house from Kṛishnarāja,⁶ and this led Hall and some other scholars to hold that Upēndra was another name of Kṛishnarāja.⁷ But we have seen above that except the fact that both these names are synonymous, we have no definite evidence in support of this identification.

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 225.

2 K.N. Dikshit and D.B. Diskalkar, who edited the Harsōlā grants, also suggest that Kṛishna may have been another name of Vākpati (I). See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 239. This appears possible when we know that Vākpati (II) also had the *birūda* Śrīvallabha which is a synonym of Kṛishna; and the first-mentioned Vākpati may also have used it.

3 *Proc. of the Third Oriental Conf.* (Madras), pp. 303 ff.; *H.M.H.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 118 and 123. For the contrary view, see *H.P.D.*, pp. 29 f. and *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 844, n.

4 For example, by H.C. Ray, for which, see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 844; P. Rhatia also takes them as two different sources, which can hardly be believed.

5 Canto XI, vv. 76-79; and No. 24, v. 7, respectively.

6 In Nos. 4-7.

7 For Hall's view see the edition of the Udaipur *praśasti* in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 224 ff. The other scholars who follow him are Cunningham, G.H. Ojha and H.C. Ray.

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Verse eight of the Udaipur *prasaṣti* describes Upēndra as one who "gained high order of kingship by his own valour". This goes to imply that he was ambitious as well as adventurous. From his description in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, we know that he earned wide fame and was particularly renowned for performing multitudes of sacrifices.

As to the period of the reign of this ruler, we have as many different views as the writers themselves; and we can only summarily mention these views, without going into details, since a discussion over them, which requires a thorough investigation, would be out of the mark in the present context. Hall, in his edition of the Udaipur *prasaṣti*, held that this king began to rule shortly after 800 A.C.¹ D.C. Ganguly, who took him as a subordinate of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, held him as reigning provisionally from c. 810 to 837 A.C.,² whereas A.S. Altekar and K.A.N. Sastri are inclined to believe that he was a contemporary of Indra III and they fix the period of his reign from about 900 to 925 A.C.³ Differing from all these scholars, P. Bhatia held him to have been a contemporary of Gōvinda III and took him to have been on the throne from c. 791 to 818 A.C.⁴ Both the last-mentioned views, as rightly pointed out by K.C. Jain, create many difficulties, particularly chronological;⁵ and viewing all the details mentioned by all these scholars, I am inclined to agree with Hall who took this king as ruling in the early years of the ninth century A.C.

In his Navasāri grant, dated Śaka 836 (914 A.C.), the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III takes the credit for defeating one Upēndra; and some scholars tried to identify the latter of these rulers with the Paramāra Upēndra, who is also taken by them to have been identical with Kṛishṇarāja, the great-grandfather of Vākpati-Muñja.⁶ In this connection it is also conjectured by them that the Paramāras may have then been the feudatories of the Gūjjara-Pratihāras, who were the enemies of the Rāshtrakūṭas, and this may have been the reason of Indra's attack on Upēndra. But besides the fact that this suggestion is merely conjectural, this view goes against the statement of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* and the Udaipur *prasaṣti*, both of which place him much earlier and as the very first person in the genealogical list. Following this statement, his identification with the adversary of Indra has been questioned by some other scholars.⁷ A close study of the arguments advanced by both these sides, however, makes us inclined to observe that with the insufficient data now available, it is impossible to prove or disprove any of these hypotheses. It has already been remarked above that the name of Upēndra does not figure in any of the earlier inscriptions.

Whatever may have been the fact, Upēndra appears to have flourished in Gujarāt and not in Mālwa proper, as held by some scholars including Hall,⁸ since the latter of these regions was then under the Pratihāra kings, as already noticed above. The statement of Padmagupta that this king "composed his own eulogy by erecting pillars of victory on the earth bounded by four oceans" appears to be only conventional; but it seems to imply that he may have extended his territory by some new conquests.

According to the bardic tales, the name of the queen of Upēndra was Lakshmidēvi,⁹ but this account is not corroborated by any epigraphic evidence.

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 225.

2 *H.P.D.*, p. 29.

3 Respectively, *R.T.T.*, p. 100; and *Dr. Lakshman Swaripa Commemoration Vol.*, p. 297.

4 *P.B.P.*, p. 28.

5 *M.T.A.*, pp. 330 ff.

6 See *R.T.T.*, pp. 100 f. For the grant, see *J.B.B.R.R.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 253.

7 *P.B.P.*, pp. 31 f. For a detailed discussion, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 227 ff.

8 See *ibid.*, pp. 330 ff.

9 *Dhār State Gazetteer* (1909), pp. 121 ff. (appx. C).

VĀKPATIRĀJA I ALIAS KṚISHNARĀJA

c. 895 to 920 A.C.

We have seen above that the Harsōlā grants of Siyaka trace the donor's descent to Vākpatirāja, the Sanskrit form of Prakrit Bappaiparāja, as found in them. They also give him the full titles of a paramount sovereign. Padmagupta's description of this ruler is merely conventional, but in the Udaipur *praśasti* he is compared with Śatamakha (Indra) for his military valour, and it is also stated in it that the horses of his armies drank the water of the Ganges and of the ocean,¹ which is, of course, a panegyric of the poet. Verse ten of the *praśasti* informs us that this prince was "a sun for (those) water-lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti". This description seems to suggest that he had established his hold over that city. From all the references mentioned here, Vākpati appears to have been an important ruler, and may be regarded, as H.C. Ray is inclined to hold, "as the real founder of the importance of the family".²

H.C. Ray and D.C.³ Ganguly hold that Indra III probably advanced by way of Ujjain during the reign of Vākpati, in the course of his campaign against the Pratihāra ruler Mahipāla (914-943 A.C.). It thus appears likely that Vākpati's association with Mālava began at Ujjain, and also that he was a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṣa Indra III and the Pratihāra ruler Mahipāla, as suggested by H.C. Ray.

VAIRISIMHA

c. 920 to 945 A.C.

Vākpatirāja was succeeded by his son Vairisimha, whose description in the *Navasāhasāṅkcharita* is only vague and conventional. The Udaipur *praśasti* however, tells us that people called him by another name, Vajraśasvāmin, and also that by him "famous Dhārā was vindicated when he slew the crowd of his enemies with the sharp edge (*dhārā*) of his sword".⁴ The enemies whom he claims to have slain appear to have been the Gūrjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj. His contemporary on the Pratihāra throne was Mahēndrapāla, whose Pratāpghaṭh inscription is dated 945-46 A.C.⁵ Since this record shows that in or before this year some portion of Mālwa around Māṇḍū, Ujjain and Mandasaur was recovered by Mahēndrapāla, it has been concluded that in the latter part of his reign Vairisimha was driven out of Mālwa into Gujārāt by the Gūrjara-Pratihāras.⁶ Thus Dhārā, which may have been temporarily occupied by Vairisimha in the early part of his career, slipped out of his hands in his last days.⁷

SIYAKA

c. 945 to 973 A.C.

Vairisimha was succeeded by his son Siyaka *alias* Harsha, who is also mentioned as Simhabhaṭa by Mērutuṅga. In this respect Bühler remarked that "the complete name

1 No. 24, v. 10.

2 D.H.N.I., Vol. II, p. 846.

3 Respectively, D.H.N.I., Vol. II, p. 846, and H.P.D., pp. 32 ff.

4 No. 24, v. 11.

5 Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 176 ff.

6 D.H.N.I., Vol. II, p. 847. From Rājasekhara's *Bālabhārata* (I, v. 7) Mālava appears to have been regained by his predecessor.

7 K.C. Jain holds that Vairisimha occupied Dhārā only after 946 A.C. when the Pratihāra empire was dismembered. See M.T.A., p. 333. But he has not given his view about the period of reign of this prince.

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probably was Harshasimha (Harakhsingha?), both parts of which were used as abbreviations, instead of the whole. The form Siyaka is a half Prakrit form of Simhaka. For in modern Gujarati and in other dialects the termination of *Simha* becomes in names not only *Singh* or *Saugh*, but very commonly *Si* which is immediately derived from the Prakrit *Siha*. Thus we find *Padamsi* instead of *Padmasimha*, *Narsi* for *Narasimha*, *Arsi* for *Arisimha*, *Amarsi* for *Amarasimha*.¹

Three copper-plate grants of this king have so far been known. The first two of them, both of which were dated in V.S. 1005 (949 A.C.), were issued from Harshapura, modern Harsola in the Ahmedabad District of Gujarat, and the third, which is fragmentary, was found in Ahmedabad itself, with a copper-smith, and bears the date V.S. 1025 (969 A.C.).² These records show that this king had a reign of at least 20 years, which is just the period of one generation. But his rule has to be taken as extending up to V.S. 1029 (972-73 A.C.), in view of the statement of Dhanapala in the concluding verse of his work *Pāyilachchhi*, that it was completed in this year when the illustrious Harshadēva invaded the kingdom of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Khōṭṭiga.³ The upper limit of Siyaka's reign has of course been taken here conjecturally.

From the Harsola grants we learn that Siyaka at this time was in possession of the territory of Mōhadavāsa, modern Mōdāsā in the Ahmedabad District, adjoining Khēṭaka-maṇḍala, which is roughly equivalent to the modern Kaira District. The grants mention him with the titles of a sovereign (*mahā-rājādhirāja*) and also a feudatory (*mahāmāṇḍalikachūdāmanī*), probably showing that he enjoyed the position of a semi-independent chief, and was thus entitled to issue land-grants under his own authority. He owed allegiance to the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Akālavārsha-Kṛishṇa III (939-967) A.C., who seems to have allotted certain portions of his territories to his nobles, to check the attacks of the Pratihāra enemies.⁴

One of the important events of the reign of Siyaka was his expedition against Yōgarāja, probably in alliance with his neighbour, the lord of the Khēṭaka-maṇḍala, whose name is not mentioned in the inscriptions but who appears to have been a successor of Prachāṇḍa known from the Kāpaḍvanj grant of Śaka 832 (910 A.C.). This adversary of Siyaka has been taken to have been a chief of the Chāvḍā (Chāpōṭkaṭa) dynasty, Avanivarman II, and his principality must have been somewhere to the west of the Māhi river,⁵ where Siyaka, after inflicting a defeat on him, made the grants, and where, according to the editors of the grants, he appears to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras who were the inveterate enemies of the Rāshtrakūṭas. On the other hand, it is held by some that "he seems to have encroached upon Lāṭa, and it was evidently to dislodge him from that area that Siyaka marched against him and drove him

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 225. As against this suggestion, see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 848. The name Harsha appears in No. 24, v. 12. That the same ruler bore both these names is evident from the *T.M.* v. 41 (2nd edn.) and also from the fact that in No. 83, v. 30, he is called Siyaka and in No. 84, v. 19, which mentions the same event, as Harsha. The name is spelt as *Siyāka* in No. 56, ll. 14 and 15, and as *Siyā* in No. 60, v. 27.

2 Nos. 1-3.

3 Ed. by Bühler, *Introd.*, p. 6, and vv. 276 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 226.

4 As also known from the Kāpaḍvanj grant of Śaka 832 (910 A.C.). See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 52. Siyaka was a first grade feudatory, as is apparent from the use of the word *chūdāmanī* in his title in the grants, and it is possible that he was playing the role of a semi-independent chief in North Indian politics by guarding the northern frontier of the kingdom of his overlord Kṛishṇa III, who was in those days fully occupied in his struggle with the Chōlas. See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Colas*, pp. 131 ff. This may have prompted Siyaka to assume independence, as we find in the Harsola grants.

5 The existence of a Chāpa principality immediately to the west of the Māhi is revealed by the Haddālā (Saurāshṭra) copper-plate inscription of Śaka 836 (914 A.C.). See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 190 ff., and *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 90.

back".¹ In all likelihood this adversary of Siyaka appears to have been the same as the lord of Rudrapāṭi mentioned as defeated by him in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*.²

To the east of Siyaka's territory around Mōḍāsā, in Gujarat, lay the country of Vāgaḍa (Bānswādā-Dūngarpur area), where a junior branch of the Paramāras had established its sway under his uncle Dambarsimha, with Arthūpā as his capital.³ This region was bounded on its east by that of Daṣapura, roughly the modern Mandasaur District and the adjacent area, a part of which appears to have been then under the sway of the Gūjara-Pratihāras, as already seen above on the basis of the Pratāpagaḍh inscription of Mahēndrapāla. We have no direct evidence to know whether Siyaka entered into a clash with any of the subordinates of the Pratihāra ruler, though the statement of the Karhād plates of Kṛishṇa III, viz., that the Rāshtrakūṭas then advanced as far as Chitrakūṭa (modern Chittor), seems to indicate that this region was conquered by the imperial Rāshtrakūṭa house some time before Śaka 880 (872-73 A.C.) when they were issued.⁴ It is not known if Siyaka participated in this expedition of his overlord, and if he did, it may have facilitated his further penetration in this direction.

It was almost at the same time that this bold Paramāra adventurer defeated the Hūṇas, one of whose principalities then lay around the northwestern part of the present Mandasaur District in Mādhyā Pradesh.⁵ The *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* tells us that Siyaka "slaughtered the Hūṇa princes and turned their harem into a dwelling-place for the widows".⁶ The Hūṇa prince killed by Siyaka appears to have been as D.C. Ganguly has rightly guessed, a successor of Jējṇapa, who was defeated by Balavarman, the father of Yōgarāja of Saurāshṭra;⁷ and in his expedition Siyaka also appears to have captured some of the Hūṇa territory, as we learn from the Mōḍi fragmentary inscription which says that he "enjoyed the earth which was sprinkled over by the blood of the Hūṇas".⁸ But even after this event the Hūṇas continued to be powerful in this region, as we shall see below in the account of Sindhurāja who finally curbed them.

Siyaka's plan of making extension in the east and northeast of his kingdom, however, appears to have been retarded by the growing power of the Chandēlla Yaśovarman, who was his contemporary on the throne of Jējākabhukti and who is described in his Khajurāhō inscription of V.S. 1011 (953-54 A.C.) as "a god of death to the Mālavas".⁹ From another verse of the same inscription we know that the western boundary of the kingdom of Yaśovarman's son Dhaṅga extended as far as Bhāsvat (Vidishā) on the Mālava-nadī (Vētravati).¹⁰ In view of this statement Siyaka seems to have extended his kingdom only upto Vidishā, though the details in this respect are not known; and as rightly observed

1 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 ff., where it is said that the king of Rōḍapāḍi appears to be the same as found in the fragmentary stone inscription at Vidishā. It is the same as found by Hall, for which, see my article in *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. LVII (1971), pp. 81 ff.

2 Canto XI, v. 89. The name is variously spelt as Rādūpāṭi, Rōḍapāḍi and even Tardapāṭi, the last being taken by S. Sastri in *Sources of Anc. Karmāṭak History*, Vol. I, p. 115. Bühler read the name as *Rudrapāḍi*. D.C. Ganguly connects this name with Rāshtrakūṭa, for which, see *H.P.D.*, p. 42.

3 For the history of this house, see the respective section below. It is of interest to note here that Arthūpā is about 70 kms. straight from Mōḍāsā and Bānswādā is about 100 kms. north by east of Mōḍāsā.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff. Pratāpagaḍh is about 60 kms. north north-east of Bānswādā and about 80 kms. straight south of Chittor, and immediately to the south of it lies the Hūṇa-maṇḍala, referred to just below.

5 For the different locations of the Hūṇas, see *P.B.P.*, p. 40, n. 3, but also see my paper contributed to the *Or. Conf.* at Ujjain, 1973, and *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. LVII, pp. 84 ff.

6 Canto XI, v. 90.

7 *H.P.D.*, p. 40.

8 No. 56, v. 27.

9 No. 98, v. 23.

10 *Ibid.*, v. 45.

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by S.K. Mitra, the statement of the Khajurāhō inscription may be taken to denote that both these rulers, viz., Dhaṅga and Siyaka, "provided a check to each other against further consolidation".¹

Flared by his victories, Siyaka decided to cast off the imperial yoke of the Rāshtrakūṭas, and he also found a favourable opportunity to do so when Kṛishṇa III died in 967 A.C. and was succeeded by his younger brother, Khōṭṭiga. The latter of these kings was an old man and lacked the military skill of his elder brother. Siyaka openly revolted and launched an expedition against him. Khōṭṭiga proceeded to meet him and in an encounter which took place between the two armies at Khalighaṭṭa, modern Khalghaṭ on the Narmadā, Siyaka's kinsman of the Vāgaḍa branch, who had come for assistance, died a heroic death, the details of which will be narrated in the history of that house. But in the end victory smiled on the Paramāra ruler, who, after inflicting a crushing defeat on the army of his adversary, pursued him and, crossing the Narmadā, advanced straight to Mānyakhēṭa, the imperial capital, which was sacked and completely plundered by his army, not sparing even the royal treasury, along with the copies of the copper-plate charters lodged in it. The Udaipur *prastuti* describes this event by the statement that Harshadēva, who "equalling the snake-eater (Garuda) in fierceness, took in battle the wealth of king Khōṭṭiga".² The brunt of the Paramāra attack was so severe as to result in the death of Khōṭṭiga in the same year, i.e., in 972 A.C.

This invasion is probably referred to in an inscription from Śravaṇa Bēlgola which states that the (Western Gaṅga) Mārasimha II, by the strength of his arms, protected the encampment of the emperor (Khōṭṭiga) when it was located in the city of Mānyakhēṭa.³ If we take this statement as referring to the struggle mentioned above, the observation of D.C. Ganguly appears to be justified in concluding that on this occasion the Paramāra army could not conquer the main fort of the Rāshtrakūṭa capital where the royal residence was fixed, and thus "Siyaka's success cannot be regarded as more than temporary".⁴

We have seen above that Dhanapāla composed his Prakrit work entitled *Pāyalachchhī-nāmamālā* in V.S. 1029 (972-73 A.C.) when Mānyakhēṭa was being looted by the people of Mālava.⁵ This gives us the time of Siyaka's invasion of the Rāshtrakūṭa capital, which paved way for the collapse of this great empire.

Thus we see that Siyaka *alias* Harsha was the real founder of the Paramāra kingdom in Malwa. His military exploits well show that he left behind him a vast extent of territory from the Māhī region in the west to the Bētwa in the east and northeast, and the Narmadā in the south. In the north his kingdom extended up to Jhālāwād. It is possible that he had extended his kingdom also to the south of the Narmadā, since, as we shall see below, in the time of his son and successor Muñja, Gōdāvarī was its southern boundary.

Siyaka's was a religious turn of mind; and after he returned from the invasion of the Rāshtrakūṭa capital, he seems to have abdicated his kingdom in favour of his son, Vākpati-Muñja. Padmagupta states that Siyaka "adopted the life of an ascetic and clothed himself in the grass-robe of a royal sage".⁶ The name of his queen was Vajajā.⁷

1 See *E.R.K.*, p. 48.

2 No. 24, v. 12.

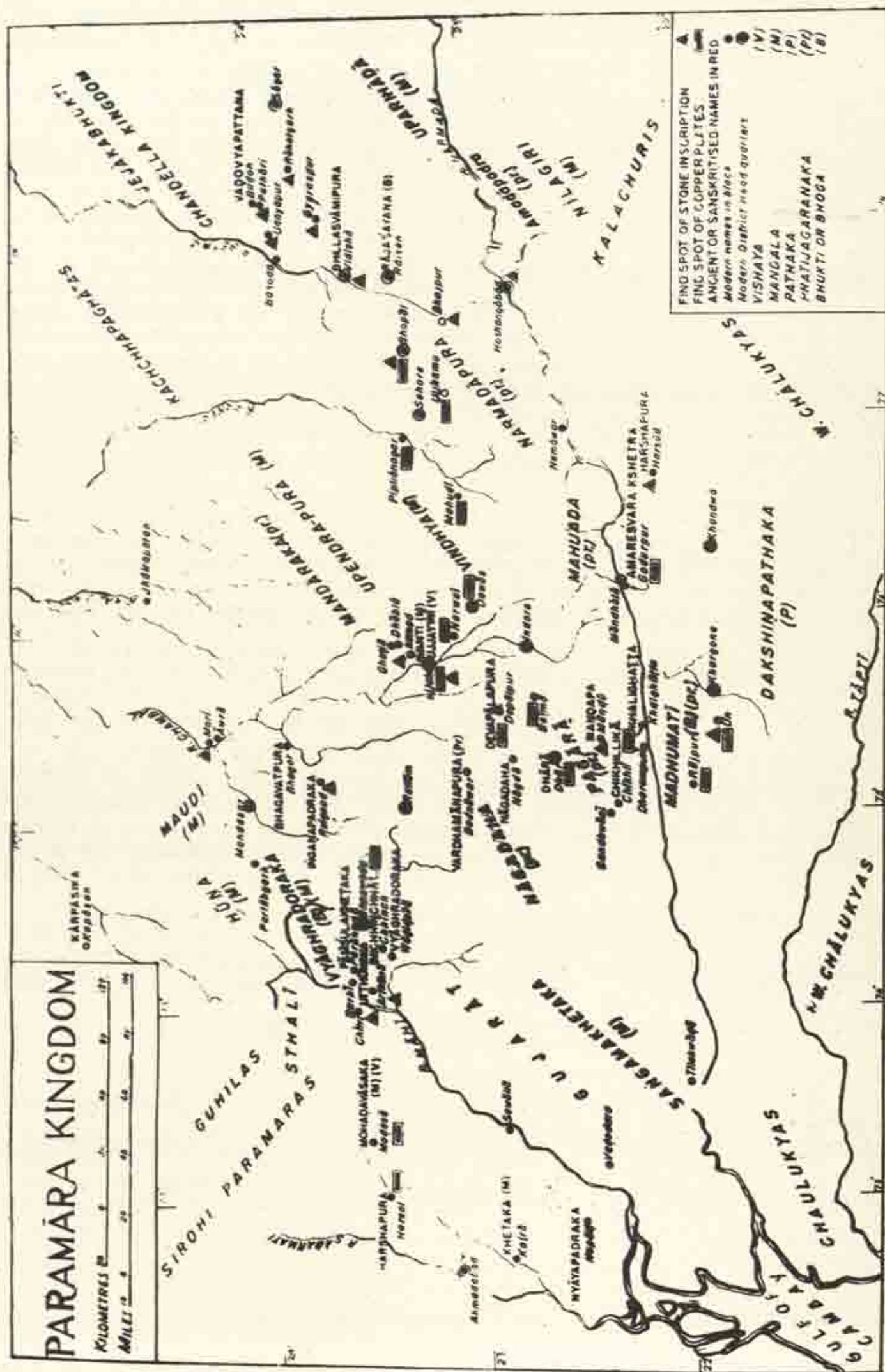
3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 179.

4 *H.P.D.*, pp. 42 f.

5 See above p. 10.

6 *N.S.C.*, Canto XI, v. 88.

7 *Ibid.*, v. 86.



POLITICAL HISTORY

VĀKPATI-MUNJA

c. 973 to c. 995 A.C.

Siyaka, whose latest known date is 972-73 A.C., was succeeded by his son Vākpati. Mērutunga informs us that this king was also known as Muñja because he was picked up as a foundling by Simhadantabhāṭa (Siyaka) from the midst of a thicket of *muñja* reeds.¹ Bühler rejects this story as unhistorical, but it has, somehow or other, found a place in the *Ā'n-i-Akbari*.²

This ruler was also called Utpala, as we know from a verse (*pranaya-kupitām dēvīm dṛishṭvā...*) which is attributed to Utpalarāja by the Kashmirian poet Kshēmendra and to Vākpatirāja by Vallabhadēva in his *Subhāshitāvalī* (No. 3413). Padmagupta mentions him by the name Vākpatirāja.³ This conclusion is reinforced by the statement of Arjunavarman, who, as pointed out by D.C. Ganguly, clearly says that Muñja (*i.e.*, Utpala) also bore the name of Vākpati.⁴

Four inscriptions of this ruler have so far been known. They are all on copper-plates and were found, one at Dharampuri (Dhār Dist.), one at Ujjain, and the rest two at Gaonry, a village near Ujjain, all in Mālwa proper, ranging in dates from V.S. 1031 (975 A.C.) to V.S. 1043 (986 A.C.).⁵ They all mention him with the imperial titles of *Paramabhāṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, and also inform us that he assumed the *birudas* of *Amoghavarsha*,⁶ *Prithivīvallabha* and *Śrīvallabha*.

Vākpati was a great warrior and a successful military leader. Resuming his father's scheme of conquest, he devoted his energies towards the expansion of his kingdom. The Udaipur *prasaṣti* records that "his lotus-like feet were coloured by the jewels on the heads of the Kārṇāṭas, Lāṭas, Kēraḷas and Chōḷas", and further says that he also "conquered Yuvarāja, slew his generals and held his sword high at Tripuri".⁷ Of these all, the kingdoms of the Kēraḷa and the Chōḷa were far remote from that of Vākpati, and Bühler has rightly expressed his doubt about his coming into a clash with them; but H.C. Ray conjectured that he may have fought with these chiefs when he was engaged in his struggle with Tailapa, the Kārṇāṭa king.⁸ As for the rest of his adversaries mentioned here and in the other sources, as we shall presently see, most of them are known to have assumed independence during the confusion caused by the Rāshtrakūṭa-Pratihāra struggle.

Yuvarāja or Yuvarāja II was the younger son of the Kalachuri king Lakshmanarāja II (945-970 A.C.), but he had a short reign of about ten years from 980 to 990 A.C. He lacked the military dash of his father and appears to have been easily defeated. This conclusion is corroborated by the Kauthēm grant of Vikramāditya V, which states that "Utpala destroyed the power of the Chaidyas, *i.e.*, the king of the Chēdis."⁹ But the Paramāra ruler does not appear to have occupied the Kalachuri capital for long, as he found himself involved in a prolonged struggle with the Chālukyas on the southern border

1 P.C.M., p. 30.

2 A.A., Vol. II, p. 215, where the name of Muñja's father is given as Vijayānanda.

3 See N.S.C., Canto I, v. 7 and *ibid.*, Canto XI, v. 92. D.C. Ganguly states in H.P.D., p. 47, that Padmagupta also mentions this ruler by the name of Utpala, but I am unable to find the reference in the edition of the *Kāvya* with me.

4 H.P.D., p. 47. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription calls him by the name Muñja. See No. 33, v. 23; also see No. 56, v. 31 and No. 60, v. 28. The T.M. gives him the name Vākpati in v. 42 of its introductory portion, and Muñja in v. 53 of the same. Also see v. 43, where both these names are used for the same ruler.

5 Nos. 4-7, respectively.

6 From the expression *apar-ābhidhāna* it appears to be a personal name rather than a *biruda*, as generally taken.

7 No. 24 vv. 14-15.

8 D.H.N.I., Vol. II, p. 855.

9 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 23, ll. 41-42. In this connection also see C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. lxxxvii, and n.7.

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of his kingdom; and, as suggested by V.V. Mirashi, he may have made peace with the Kalachuri king and returned to his kingdom.¹ The names of the Kalachuri generals whom the Udaipur *prastāva* claims to have been killed by Vākpati are not known.

Now we study Vākpati's conquests in the north. First of all he appears to have come in conflict with the contemporary ruler of Mēwād, the Guhila Śaktikumāra, the son and successor of Śalivāhana. The Bijāpur inscription of Dhavala informs us that "Vākpati destroyed Āghāṭa (Ahār), the pride of Mēdapāṭa and caused the Guhila prince to flee from the battlefield and take shelter with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhavala of Hastikunḍi (mod. Hathūṇḍi)."²

After defeating the Guhila prince, Vākpati led his army into the adjoining region of Gujarat, a large part of which was then governed by Mūlarāja I (941-997 A.C.), the founder of the Chaulūkyas dynasty. A struggle between the two rising powers was inevitable. Mūlarāja came out to oppose Vākpati, but failed in preventing the advancing Mālava army, and was defeated. The Bijāpur inscription tells us that his armies, bereft of a leader, sought refuge with the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhavala.³ The miserable plight of the Gūrjara king is graphically recorded by Padmagupta in his *Auchitya-vichitra-charchā*, vv. 9-10, in the following words:-

"He neither eats food nor drinks water; nor he keeps the society of women; he lies on the sand, puts off from him all the worldly pleasures, and courts the hottest Sun. O! lion of the house of Mālava, it seems to me that this Gūrjara king is doing penance in the forests of Mārwar because he is eager to obtain an atom of that *prasāda* which is the dust of your feet".

"The silly Gūrjara queen, as she wanders terror stricken in the forest, ever and anon casts her eyes on her husband's sword, to see if there be no water there", for often in the past she has heard the bards say "the Great king, the hosts of your foes have been engulfed in the battle stirred up by your sword's edges (or torrent)".⁴

Padmagupta's statement, however, appears to have been exaggerated in view of the contrary version of Udayaprabha Sūri, the religious preceptor of the ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla. In his *Sukṛitakīrtikallōlinī*, v. 26, this writer describes Mūlarāja's victory over the kings of Pāṇḍya, Kārṇāṭa, Kāñchi and the Turushkas (who were all distant from his kingdom), and adds that "the king of Mālava (evidently Muṇja) left the battlefield out of fear."

D.C. Ganguly identified the Gūrjara king with Mūlarāja, and this view is followed by some other scholars.⁵ This suggestion, however, has been recently challenged by P. Bhatia, who pointed out that in the tenth century A.C. the word Gūrjara, as used in these verses, was in common use for the Gūrjara-Pratihāras only, and it was in the twelfth century that the Chaulūkyas came to be known as the Gūrjaras.⁶ But it may be pointed out here that the word Gūrjara denoting the land and the country was in use even before the tenth century; and as such, it appears to have been used by Padmagupta, the court-poet, though his praise of Vākpati is highly figurative and therefore not to be taken in its true sense. We also know that by the time of Mūlarāja all the principalities of

1 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. lxxxvii.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 20, vv. 9-10.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 173-74. Translation from *H.P.D.*, pp. 54 f.

5 See *H.P.D.*, pp. 53 f. and *E.C.D.*, pp. 122 f.

6 *P.B.P.*, p. 48. The same view was held also by A.K. Majumdar, who translated the word *vinashīṣṭa* to mean killed. See *C.G.*, p. 30. But the use of the root *naś* in the sense of running away is common enough in Sanskrit literature. Majumdar's conjecture that the Gūrjara king mentioned here may have been a Gūrjara-Pratihāra king (unidentified), whose armies received shelter from the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhavala (*I.N.I.*, No. 94), seems plausible but not certain.

the Gūjara-Pratihāras had disappeared from the surrounding region, and Vijayapāla of this dynasty, whom Bhatia proposes to identify with the Gūjara king, had his kingdom confined only to Kanauj and the surrounding territory.

After defeating Mūlarāja, Vākpati appears to have led his army in the Lāṭa region, which comprised the land between the rivers Māhi and Tāpti. Its ruler at this time was Bārappā, a member of the Chaulūkyā dynasty and the general of the Chaulūkyā king Tailapa. The details of the struggle that ensued between the two rivals are not known, but as the Udaipur *prasasti* asserts, the Paramāra ruler succeeded in defeating Bārappā, who was also killed.

After his conquest of all these regions, Vākpati appears to have pushed his arm further into Mārṇād which touches the northern fringe of Mēwād. Padmagupta, in his usual eulogistic way, says that his patron "caused the pearls in the necklace of the 'Mārṇād women to dance", and this statement is reinforced by the testimony of the Kauthēm grant of Vikramāditya VI, which informs us that "the people of Mārṇād trembled at the approach of Utpala",¹ which is one of the names of Vākpati, as we have seen above. D. Sharma has shown that the general name Mārṇād in this case signifies the Nāḍōl territory which was then held by the Chāhamānas, and if we believe with him that the Chaulūkyā king Mūlarāja, after his defeat at the hands of the Paramāra king, fled to this region,² it is also possible to hold Vākpati's penetration into this part of land in pursuit of the enemy. Three of the Nāḍōl-Chāhamāna kings, namely, Śōbhita, his son Balirāja and the latter's uncle Vighrahapāla, reigned contemporaneously with Vākpati. The first of them is described in the Sēvādī plates of his successor Ratnapāla, dated V.S. 1176 (1120 A.C.), as the lord of Dhārā; and the Sundhā Hill inscription of Chāchigadēva of V.S. 1319 (1262 A.C.) states that Balirāja defeated the army of Muñja.³ All the three rulers mentioned above died within a short period of fourteen years between 982 and 996 A.C.,⁴ and from this it has been concluded that the death of all these kings might not in every case have been due to natural causes, but due to their conflict with the Paramāras of Mālṇā. It seems that in the early phase of the struggle they gained some success against the Paramāras, but in the end Vākpati succeeded in defeating probably the last mentioned king.⁵ Or, it is also possible to conclude that the struggle did not end in a decisive victory for either side, and Vākpati's raid of this part of land was merely sweeping. The latter of the views appears more likely in view of Vākpati's apprehension of an attack on his kingdom by his adversary, Tailapa.

D.C. Ganguly puts forward a theory that in his expedition to Mārṇād Vākpati also conquered the region around Ābū and divided it among the princes of the Paramāra royal blood, namely, his sons Aranyarāja and Chandana and his nephew Dūsala.⁶ His view has been accepted by H.C. Ray and K.M. Munshi,⁷ but I agree with P. Bhatia in holding that this theory is fallacious, particularly as it presents chronological difficulties.⁸

The Kauthēm grant also refers to Vākpati's victory over the Hūṇas,⁹ who appear to have been the same people who were defeated by his father Siyaka. Perhaps we may also hold that the Gaonry plates of V.S. 1038 which register his donation of land in the Hūṇa-*maṇḍala* were issued after his victory over that region.

1 See *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 173, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 23, ll. 41-42, respectively.

2 *E.C.D.*, p. 123.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 309; *ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 75, 75, v. 7, respectively.

4 *E.C.D.*, p. 123.

5 See *P.B.P.*, p. 50.

6 *H.P.D.*, pp. 22, 52, 298.

7 See *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 854, 909 and 924.

8 For details, see *P.B.P.*, pp. 51 ff.

9 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 23, ll. 41-42.

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Making a survey of his military exploits, we see that Vākpati was a brave general who had inherited the military dash of his father Siyaka, and who extended his kingdom in all directions except in the south, where, however, he had not only to suffer a reverse but also to meet his tragic end. The last of his expeditions that Vākpati undertook in this direction was against Tailapa, his rival for supermacy and the founder of the Chālukya kingdom, who, too, was striving hard to extend his kingdom after the downfall of the Rāshtrakūṭa house overthrown by him. Mērutuṅga tells us that Vākpati had conquered Tailapa six times.¹ This statement would agree with the assertion of the Udaipur *prasasti*, viz. that Vākpati had subdued the Karpāṭas, against whom he really may have gained some success in his previous expeditions in that direction.² The last of his campaigns against Tailapa is also recorded by Mērutuṅga, who informs us that when Vākpati again determined to march against this adversary, his chief minister (*mahāmātya*) Rudrāditya endeavoured to dissuade him and conjured him not to cross the Gōdāvari and advance beyond; but being overconfident, the king ignored his minister's advice and crossed the river. And he was defeated in the struggle that ensued and caught by the enemy and bound with a rope of reed (*muñja*). Tailapa first treated him honourably, but on an attempt to escape being detected, assassinated him.³

That this story appears to have a historical basis is known from the mention of the minister Rudrāditya in the Ujjain and Gaonry (I) grants of Vākpati. It is also confirmed by two grants of Vikramāditya VI (c. 1055-1126 A.C.) and by the *Āin-i-Akbari* which informs us that Muñja "ended his life in the wars of the Deccan".⁴ The date of this event has been fixed by Bühler, who points out that since Amitagati composed his *Subhāshita ratna-sandōha* in V.S. 1050 (993-4 A.C.), during the reign of Muñja, as mentioned in its colophon, and since Tailapa himself died in Śaka 919 (997-98 A.C.), it is certain that Muñja's death must have occurred between these two dates.⁵

Though a gifted leader, Vākpati was even more renowned as a poet and a patron of the men of letters, as is implied by his very name. The Udaipur *prasasti* praises him for his learning, eloquence and poetic gifts (v. 13). It is specially noteworthy that even in the records of his adversaries, the Western Chalukyas, he is described as a poet of high rank (*kavi-vrīṣhā*). Contemporary and later poets bestow their admiration on him and mourn his loss by voicing their lamentations. An account of the luminaries that adorned his court would be found in the section, dealing with Literature. He was also a liberal king. All his grants record the names of brāhmaṇas and learned persons migrating to Mālwa from distant places situated in Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Ahichchhatra.

The name of this king is associated with a big tank at Dhār, Muñja-sāgara, and also with a town in Gujarāt, called Muñjapura.⁶

SINDHURĀJA

c. 995 to c. 1000 A. C.

Padmagupta tells us that "Vākpati placed the earth in Sindhurāja's arms when he started for Ambikā's town".⁷ This statement suggests that the latter had been made the heir-apparent by the former, some time before he proceeded against Tailapa. In view of

1 P.C.M., p. 33. But according to the Bombay edn., p. 58, sixteen times.

2 As shown by Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

3 P.C.M., pp. 33 ff. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 168. The records of the Paramāras are naturally reticent about this affair.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 167 f., and *A.A.*, Vol. II, p. 216, respectively.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 228.

6 A tank of this name still exists at Dhār. For the town, see K.M. Munshi, *The Glory that was Gūrjaradēśa*, Vol. III, p. 117.

7 N.S.C., Canto XI, vv. 85 ff.

this suggestion we have to discredit the tradition recorded by Mērutunga and others according to whom Vākpati-Muñja *alias* Utpala was succeeded not by Sindhurāja who was for long at enmity with his elder brother, but by Bhōjadēva.¹

It is difficult to fix the lower limit of Sindhurāja's reign, which can be determined only by that of the accession of his son Bhōja who succeeded him. Mērutunga assigns to Bhōja a regnal period of fifty-five years, seven months and three days,² and his latest known date is Śaka 977 or 1055 A.C.³ Accordingly, if we take his reign as extending from 1000 to 1055 A.C., Sindhurāja should be regarded as terminating his reign in about 1000 A.C.

Sindhurāja assumed the titles of *Kumāranārāyaṇa* and *Navasāhasāṅka*. No inscription of him has yet been discovered, but we have some information of his achievements from the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* and some later Paramāra inscriptions. Padmagupta mentions him as *Avantīśvara*, *Mālavarāja* and *Parama-mahābhrit*, and records his victories over the king of Kuntala and the countries of the Hūṇas, Vāgaḍa, Murala, Lāṭa, Aparānta and Kōśala. The statement of the court poet of Sindhurāja's success over all these powers is the most casual, and only the first of his achievements is corroborated by the Udaipur *prastuti*.⁴

Soon after his accession, Sindhurāja appears to have made an attempt to revive the fortune and glory of his house, which had vanished with the death of Muñja. His contemporary on the throne of the Western Chalukyas was Satyaśraya (997-1008 A.C.), the son and successor of Tailapa II. Satyaśraya was at this time involved in a protracted struggle with the Chōla king Rājendra (985-1014 A.C.); and taking advantage of his occupation, Sindhurāja appears to have invaded his kingdom and probably recovered some of the territories lost by his elder brother. Whether the Paramāra king actually came in contact with Satyaśraya is not known, but that he succeeded in recovering his kingdom (*svarājya*), which had been annexed by the king of Kuntala (Tailapa), is shown by the categorical assertion of Padmagupta in his *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, Canto I, verse 74.⁵

We do not know anything about Sindhurāja's clash with the Hūṇas, as stated by Padmagupta. However we cannot altogether rule out the possibility that it may possibly have been the same campaign led against them by his elder brother Vākpati, in which he may have participated. The Hūṇas, however, appear to have been finally defeated and their territory may have been incorporated into the Paramāra kingdom.

With reference to Padmagupta's statement about Sindhurāja's victory over the people of Vāgaḍa, D.C. Ganguly thought that it was against the Guhila territory of Vāgaḍa that was subdued by him.⁶ But we have no evidence in support of this conjecture. Pratīpal Bhatia, on the other hand, suggested that it is not unlikely that Sindhurāja attacked Vāgaḍa and defeated its ruler Chāṇḍapa, who might have been his contemporary.⁷ But we know that this region was then under the junior branch of the Paramāras, who owed their allegiance to the main line, and we have also seen that the Vāgaḍa ruler Kaṅka, or

1 See P.C.M., p. 36. The T.M., (2nd edn.) v. 43, says that Muñja was so fond of Bhōja that he had him anointed as his *Yuvarāja*. The statement of the P.C.M. that Sindhurāja had no good relations with Vākpati, is doubted by Bühler but is accepted by Ray by pointing out that the N.S.C., which exaggerates the victory of the former of these rulers passes over in silence all that of the latter. See D.H.N.I., Vol. II, p. 889, and n. 7. But here we have to remember that the theme of the N.S.C. is to describe Sindhurāja and not Vākpati.

2 P.C.M., p. 57.

3 *Dasabaliya-Chintāmaṇi-Sāraṅikā*, J.O.R., Madras, Vol. XIX, Pt. ii, supplement, *Introd.*, p. 1. We do not know if Bhōja continued even after this date. Mērutunga's statement is not corroborated by any other evidence, and the period of this king is taken here as purely provisional. Some take Sindhurāja as continuing up to 1010 A.C. and others as even up to 1015 A.C., respectively, see P.B.P., p. 58, and C.I.I., vol. IV, p. cxviii.

4 See N.S.C., Canto I, v. 74; Canto X, vv. 14-19. Also see No. 24, v. 16.

5 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 181.

6 H.P.D., pp. 77-78.

7 P.B.P., p. 61.

Chachcha, lost his life in the struggle of his overlord against the Rāshtrakūṭa Khōṭṭiga; and in view of this, we can only assume, though there is no evidence in support of our conjecture, that Kaṅka's son, Chāṇḍapa, who was probably a contemporary of Sindhurāja, may have tried to renounce his subordination to the main branch and was put down. It is not also unlikely that Padmagupta's description refers to Sindhurāja's imperial control over the region in a casual way.

The country of the Muralas has been identified with Kērala.¹ P. Bhatia suggested that after his victory over Aparānta, Sindhurāja pushed further south and defeated the Muralas;² but it seems more likely that the Muralas might have come into conflict with him, as feudatories or allies of the Western Chalukyas, or the Śīlāhāras. In the absence of any confirmatory independent evidence, this is only a conjecture, for it is not possible to think of Sindhurāja's victory over so many powers in the south. He was on the throne only for a short time and was not a daring soldier like his brother Vākpati.

As to Sindhurāja's expedition against Lāta, it is possible to presume that his adversary on this occasion was Gōṅgirāja, the son and successor of Bārappā, who was defeated by Vākpati.³ Gōṅgirāja was a brave general, as he is described in a copper-plate grant dated 1050 A.C. as one who relieved his own land like the great Vishṇu,⁴ which signifies the assertion of his authority over his paternal throne; and Padmagupta's reference appears to have been to this ruler. It is likely that in Gōṅgirāja's struggle with Sindhurāja, the Chaulūkyas ruler Chāmuṇḍarāja (997-1009 A.C.), the son and successor of Mūlarāja, also may have come in a clash with the Paramāra army. The Vaṇnagar *prasasti* of Kumārapāla, dated 1151 A.C., asserts that "seeing from afar the armies of Chāmuṇḍarāja, Sindhurāja together with his elephant forces, made such a cowardly flight that all his well-established fame was lost by it."⁵ Padmagupta is silent about this defeat of Sindhurāja at the hands of Chāmuṇḍarāja, as it is a reverse. Thus the court-poet's account of his master's victories is not fully reliable, unless it is corroborated by an independent evidence.

The theme of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, which is a *Mahākāvya* composed by Sindhurāja's court-poet Padmagupta-Parimala, is to describe the king's marriage with Śasiprabhā, the daughter of the Nāga king Śaṅkhapāla; and, to obtain his object, he had to kill the *asura* Vajrāṅkuśa. In his struggle against the demon prince, the Paramāra king was assisted by the Vidyādhara. The story has a mythical garb, but, as pointed out long ago by Bühler, it has, without doubt, a historical background.⁶ The historical significance of the *Kāvya* has been brought out by scholars to mean that the Nāga ruler Śaṅkhapāla, who has been identified with a king of Chakrakōṭya in the Bastar District of modern Madhya Pradesh and who was at war with the Kalachuris of Mahākōsala, sought Sindhurāja's aid against Vajrāṅkuśa *alias* Vajjuka, who was not a prince of the demons as stated by Padmagupta, but a chief of the aborigines, with whom the Kalachuri Kalingarāja (1000-1020 A.C.) was probably allied. Sindhurāja marched against Vajjuka and slew him in battle. In this expedition he was allied by the Vidyādhara prince Śikhaṇḍakētu; and as the Śīlāhāras claim themselves to be the descendants of Vidyādhara Jimūtavāhana, the latter has been identified by V.V. Mirashi with the Śīlāhāra king of North Kōṅkana,

1 N.L. Dey's *Geog. Dictionary*, pp. 98 and 134.

2 P.B.P., p. 66.

3 Or his grandson, as held by H.C. Ray. See *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. I, p. 576, n. 1.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 203.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 308, v.1. The *Kumārapālacharita* (v. 31) states that Sindhurāja was killed in this battle by Chāmuṇḍarāja; but this statement of the fourteenth century has to be discarded in view of the epigraphic evidence.

For the identification of Sindhurāja, see *C.G.*, p. 428, n. 6.

6 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 154. For the details, see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. cxviii f., and *H.P.D.*, pp. 66 ff.

Arikēśarin *alias* Kēśirāja, but he appears, more probably, to have been his father, Aparājita.¹

After his success, the Nāga king cemented his political alliance by giving his daughter Śaśiprabhā in marriage to Sindhurāja. Thus we see that Sindhurāja strengthened the south-eastern portion of his kingdom against an apprehensive invasion of Mālava by the Chōlas, who were then rising in power and who had almost checked the growth of the house of Satyāśraya, the Western Chālukya king, who may have assumed paramount power almost at the same time.² The Tirumalai *prastāvi*, which was composed in the twelfth year of the Chōla emperor Rājendra I (1012-1044 A.C.) states that he sent an expedition to the north under his *daṇḍanāyaka* (General) in 1022 A.C.³

Aparānta is well-known as a general name for the territory of North Kōṅkana, and Padmagupta's reference to the conquest of its ruler by Sindhurāja, which is only casual and conventional as also some others, appears to signify nothing more than that the latter succeeded in securing the alliance of the former and possibly also in enforcing on him his overlordship. We have already seen how the Śilāhāra prince Aparājita allied himself with Sindhurāja in the latter's campaign in Bastar. Support for our view may be found in the suggestion of A.S. Altekar, who held that Aparājita, who in his Bhādān copper-plate grant of Śaka 919 (997 A.C.) regretfully refers to the overthrow of the Rāshtrakūṭas but had not recognised the Chalukya supremacy till that year, may have thought it best to secure the alliance of the Paramāras, who were the avowed enemies of the Chālukyas.⁴ The same scholar has also shown that the suggestion of V.V. Mirashi that the cause of the invasion of Aparānta by Sindhurāja must be to help the legitimate heir Arikēśarin to the throne, in a war of succession that followed Aparājita's death, is not tenable.⁵ And viewing the situation as a whole, I think that Padmagupta's statement regarding the defeat of the Śilāhāra prince by Sindhurāja must be taken as purely conventional and equally so is the assertion of the immediately next verse, in which the poet claims that his patron spread his conquests as far as the extreme north. It is not substantiated by any epigraphic evidence.

It is difficult to estimate the truth contained in the statement of Padmagupta who speaks of his master's victory over Kōśala. This part of land has been taken to denote South Kōśala which comprised the modern Chhattisgaṛh and the adjoining territory extending up to the boundary of the Katak District.⁶ V.V. Mirashi formerly suggested that the ruler of Kōśala defeated by Sindhurāja was one of the Gupta rulers of Śrīpura in C.P.,⁷ but later on, on the basis of the Ratanpur inscription, he changed his views and held that Sindhurāja's adversary, the king of Kōśala, was Kalingarāja, who "conquered the country of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala by the prowess of his arms."⁸ The king of Kōśala has also been identified with the Sōmavarṃśī ruler, Yayāti Mahāśivagupta.⁹ In view of all these different theories the identification of Sindhurāja's enemy, as referred to by Padmagupta, is highly uncertain.

1 *CLL*, Vol. IV, p. cxv. On the basis of allowing 25 years for each reign, A.S. Altekar took the period of the reign of Aparājita from c. 975 to c. 1010 A.C. and that of his son, Arikēśarin, from this date to c. 1025 A.C. See *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, pp. 404 f.; and though provisional, it appears to show that Sindhurāja's contemporary was more probably Aparājita. In the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 102 ff., V.V. Mirashi suggested that Aparājita was probably a contemporary of the Nāga chief of Bastar. But my view is in accordance with that of P. Bhatia (*P.B.P.*, p. 64), since from the Kharēpāṭa grant of his great-grandson Anantadēva, 1095 A.C., he (Aparājita) is known to have helped the Nāga chief of Bastar. See *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 405.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff.

4 *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 405. For the Bhādān grant, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 271.

5 See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, p. 102, for Mirashi's view. For the contrary view, see *Ind. Cult.*, *op cit.*

6 *CLL*, Vol. IV, p. cxv.

7 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, p. 101.

8 *CLL*, Vol. IV, p. xviii.

9 *R.H.S.*, Vol. I, No. 3 (1961-62), p. 128. Also see *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, p. 59.

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The end of Sindhurāja is not definitely known. From the statement of the *Kumārapālacharita* and the *Vadnagar prasasti*, both cited above, G. H. Ojha was inclined to hold that Sindhurāja was killed in his struggle with Chāmuṇḍarāja.¹ But here we have to remember that the first of these works is after all a panegyric of the past and composed much later, and the verse of the *prasasti* uses the word *nashṭa* for Sindhurāja, which is also used in Sanskrit to denote "disappearance". Thus the view propounded by Ojha is far from certain.

Sindhurāja was also a patron of men of letters. Padmagupta, who composed the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* in his reign, states that he was urged by the king to complete it.²

BHŌJADĒVA

c. 1000 to c. 1055 A.C.

Sindhurāja was succeeded by his son Bhōjadēva, who was one of the greatest and well-known Indian rulers of the eleventh century A.C. For his reign we have eight copper-plate records and two stone inscriptions,³ ranging in dates from V.S. 1067 (1011 A.C.) to V.S. 1103 (1046 A.C.). Five of these records are from Mālwa proper, one from Bānswādā, and one each from the Baroda and Nāsik region to its south west, showing the extent of his empire. Two more dates of his reign within this limit are supplied by literary works – one by Al-Bērūnī who records in his *Indica* in 1030 A.C. that Bhōjadēva was then on the throne of Dhārā, and the other, Śaka 964 (1042-43 A.C.), is furnished by the *Rājamrigāṅkakarāṇa*.⁴

It is difficult to determine with certitude when Bhōja ascended the throne. Bühler took this event as happening after about 1005 A.C., when the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* was composed, as he thought, but certainly before 1011-12 or 1018-19 A.C., the date of Bhōja's war with the Chālukya ruler, Jayasimha II of Kalyāṇī. Pointing out that Padmagupta does not mention Bhōja, which is a certain sign that this ruler had not then achieved the age of 16, the Indian age for majority, Bühler further conjectured 1010 A.C. to be the approximate date for Bhōja's accession.⁵ This view is accepted by many scholars, but it goes against the date that has been proposed by us on the basis of the statement of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, to be about ten years earlier. It may be stated here that Bühler's view about the date of the composition of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* is merely conjectural and not certain.

Bühler also conjectured the death of Bhōja as taking place after 1062 A.C., but this goes against the evidence of the Māndhātā grant of his successor Jayasimha, issued in V.S. 1112 (1055-56 A.C.),⁶ and therefore it must be taken as happening some time before this year.

Soon after his accession, Bhōja embarked upon a bold career of conquest. Regarding his military exploits and conquests, the Udaipur *prasasti* makes a general statement that he "resembled Prithu and ruled the earth from Kailāsa (in the north) to Malaya hills (in the south), and upto the two mountains of the setting and the rising Sun (farther west and east respectively)".⁷ This is, however, merely a *prasasti*, and historically worthless.

1 Ojha, *Nibandha-saṅgraha* (Hindi), p. 175.

2 Canto I, v. 8.

3 Nos. 8-17. Of these, Nos. 14 and 17 are stone inscriptions and the rest are all on copper-plates. Nos. 15 and 16 were issued by his feudatories.

4 K.H. (Sachau), Vol. I, p. 191; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 232, respectively. Bhōja's known date is Śaka 977, or 1055-56 A.C. when the *Chintāmaṇi-sāraṅikā* was composed by his court-poet Daśabala. See *J.O.R.*, Vol. XLIX, Pt. II, 1952, Supplement.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 232.

6 For Bühler's view, see *ibid.*, p. 233; for Jayasimha's grant, see No. 18.

7 No. 24, v. 17.

But the same inscription further asserts that "his mercenaries conquered the Karpātas, the lord of Lāṭa, the king of Gūrjara, the Turushkas, chief among whom were the lord of Chēdis, Indraratha, Tōggala (?) and Bhīma." Support for this statement is to be found in the Kālvaṇ grant of his feudatory, Yaśovarman, which claims Bhōja's victory over the lords of Karpāṭa, Lāṭa, Gūrjara, Chēdi and Kōṅkapa.¹ Bearing in mind that there is much exaggeration in the account of the *prasastikāras*, we now propose to see how far these statements are really true.

Bhōja first appears to have declared war against the Western Chālukyas whose kingdom stretched immediately to the south of Mālwa. It was evidently to avenge the death of his uncle Vākpati Muṇja, which must have been rankling in his mind. According to the *Bhōjaprabandha*, Bhōja killed Tailapa; but since the latter king was then already dead, R.G. Bhandarkar suggested that the king killed by Bhōja was Vikramāditya V.² In his expedition, Bhōja seems to have secured some preliminary success, as implied by the statement recorded in the Kālvaṇ grant and the Udaipur *prasasti*,³ in alliance with the Kalachuri Gāṅgēya and Rājendra Chōla, who too were avowed enemies of the Chālukyas.⁴ But in the end, the combined armies appear to have been repulsed, as we know from the records of the Western Chalukyas. An inscription of 1019 A.C. and of the reign of Jayasimha states that the king was "a moon to the lotus which was king Bhōja and also that he put to flight the 'confederacy of Mālava". Another record dated 1028 A.C. tells us that he (Jayasimha) routed the elephant squadron of the Chōla, Gāṅgēya and Bhōjadēva.⁵ In this struggle Jayasimha appears to have been helped by his vassal Bāchirāja, about whom it is said that he put Bhōja to shame, by his victorious arms.⁶ The Mālava-Chalukya struggle appears to have remained indecisive, for we find the Chalukyas again taking an offensive, as stated below.

During his southern expedition, Bhōja also inflicted a defeat on Indraratha, the Sōmavamśi ruler of Ādinagara, modern Mukhalingam in the Ganjam District of Orissa, and a vassal of the Gāṅgas of Kalinga. Bhōja seems to have fought this battle in alliance with the Kalachuri Gāṅgēya and probably also with Rājendra Chōla, who too claims to have vanquished this ruler of Ādinagara in two of his inscriptions, dated 1018 and 1025 A.C.⁷ Bhōja's alliance with Gāṅgēya, however, does not appear to have lasted long, for, some time later, the former inflicted a defeat on the latter, as recorded in the Kālvaṇ grant and the Udaipur *prasasti*. On the evidence of the Rēwā stone inscription of Karṇa, V.V. Mirashi has shown that Gāṅgēya led a campaign in Orissā;⁸ and I am tempted to suggest that it is perhaps on this occasion that Bhōja invaded the Kalachuri kingdom.

The celebration of Bhōja's victory over the Kalachuri king is recorded in one of the nāndi-verses of the *Pārijātamañjarī*, inscribed on slabs found at Dhār.⁹ Whether any portion of the Kalachuri territory was annexed by Bhōja on this occasion remains uncertain.

The Kālvaṇ grant and the Udaipur *prasasti* also record Bhōja's victory over Lāṭa, the region bordering the Western coast of the peninsula of India. His contemporary Lāṭa ruler was Kirtirāja, who is known to us from his Surat grant dated 1018 A.C.¹⁰ He

1 No. 16, l. 6. Also see No. 49, v. 56 and Arjunavarman's *prasasti* in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 101 f.

2 *E.H.D.*, p. 61. This view is not accepted by G.H. Ojha, who thinks that the king killed by Bhōja was Jayasimha. Ojha's view is followed by D.C. Ganguly. See *H.P.D.*, p. 90.

3 No. 16, l. 6; and No. 24, v. 19, respectively.

4 See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 50, l. 18; and No. 51, l. 9. The battle was fought on the banks of Gautamagaṅgā or Gōdāvarī. See *ibid.*, p. xc.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 17; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 330, respectively.

6 *Hyderabad Arch. Series*, No. 8, p. 20, v. 37.

7 *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, Pt. iii, p. 424; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 233, respectively. For details, see *P.B.P.*, p. 78.

8 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. xc.

9 Cf. *Gāṅgēya-bhaṅg-śaśv* in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 101, v. 3.

10 *Vienna Oriental Journ.*, Vol. VII, p. 88.

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was defeated and brought under sway, as is perhaps signified by a statement recorded in a copper-plate grant of Trilōchanapāla, grandson of Kirtirāja, which states that "during his reign his fame was temporarily taken away by his enemies".¹

Following his ambitious military scheme, the victorious Paramāra ruler then pushed his arms further in the south and entered Kōṅkana, the territory of the Śilāhāras. Bhōja's contemporary on the throne of North Kōṅkana was Arikēśarin *alias* Kēśirāja (c. 1015- c. 1025 A.C.), whose father Aparājita had helped Sindhurāja in the latter's campaign against the Māna kings, as seen above. But in the meanwhile the situation had changed. We are informed by the Canarese poet Rappa that Arikēśarin was defeated and probably also brought under subjection by the Western Chālukya ruler Satyāśraya,² an inveterate enemy of the Paramāras; and to drive off this adversary may have been the cause of Bhōja's expedition in that region. We do not know whether the Chālukya forces were repelled, but it is certain that Arikēśarin acknowledged his subjection to Bhōja, some time before 1020 A.C. when the latter celebrated his victory over Kōṅkana, as we know from the Bēṭmā and the Bānswāda grants, both registered in the same year, V.S. 1076, with a difference of seven months between them. That both these grants refer to the same event is shown by us in our edition of the inscriptions.³ Bhōja's occupation of this region, however, was short-lived, as we know from the Miraj plates, dated 1024 A.C. informing us that "Jayasimha had then seized all the possessions of the overlord of Kōṅkana".⁴

Sometime subsequently, Bhōja's attention was directed towards the north, where the incessant Gaznavide invasions were creating havoc just about this time. The Udaipur *prasaśti* records that he defeated the Turushkas, and this statement must be taken to imply that he came into hostile contact with them. The material enlightening us on this point is scanty, leading scholars to differ in their opinions. D.C. Ganguly, on the authority of Firishta, held that Bhōja despatched a contingent to help the Kanauj king Ānandapāla, who invoked the aid of the Hindu Rājās of Ujjain, Gwālior, Kālāñjar, Delhi and Ajmer, to repulse Mahmūd's invasion in 1008 A.C.⁵ But the account of this Muslim chronicler is not supported by any other writer, and Ganguly himself has also remarked that it should be accepted 'with reservation'. H.C. Ray, on the other hand, suggested that Bhōja possibly succeeded in extending his influence in the Kunnu valley by taking advantage of the weakness of the Chandēlla king Vidyādharma, and here he met and defeated some detachment of Mahmūd, who then invaded Gwālior and Bundelkhand.⁶ Ganguly's suggestion seems to be based on the only evidence of the find-spot of the Dubkund inscription of the Kachchhapaghāta Virasimha, which speaks highly of Bhōja, but it is not known whether the Paramāra ruler actually defeated the Muslims on this occasion, as conjectured by Ray. Thus it is all a mere guess. Still another view is advanced by P. Bhatia who is inclined to hold that besides the fact that Bhōja gave shelter to the Kanauj ruler Trilōchanapāla, who was hard-pressed by Mahmūd, in 1019 A.C., the Turkish invader lacked the courage to return by the way he came, as we are informed by Gardizi, the earliest authority on the subject, "because on that side lay the armies of Param Deo".⁷ The word Param Deo, as ingeniously suggested by Bhatia, is a corrupt form of Paramāradēva, signifying Bhōjadēva; and it is perhaps Mahmūd's avoiding Bhōja's troops and

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 204.

2 *See Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 41.

3 No. 10, l. 15; and No. 11, l. 10, respectively. There is an additional reason to show that the Bānswāda grant appears to be later. It was dated on the bright half of Māgha, and though not stated in it, this day is generally taken as sacred to the goddess of Learning to whom Bhōja was ardently devoted. Thus this important achievement appears to have been celebrated throughout the year on different days, in the region.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 18.

5 *H.P.D.*, pp. 99-100.

6 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 870.

7 *Zain-ul-Akhbar*, quoted in *P.B.P.*, p. 82, n. 1.

taking another route which appears to have been highly extolled by the *prasastikāra*.¹ Of all the views expressed here, this seems to be most cogent. It is, however, certain that Bhōja did not come into a direct clash with the Muslims.

In his expedition in the north, Bhōja appears to have penetrated into a part of the Kachchhapaghāta kingdom, bordering on the northern part of his own, but was repulsed by Kirtirāja, who was then on the throne of Gwālior and whom I have tentatively taken to have ruled from *circa* 1020 to *circa* 1040 A.C. The Sāsahū inscription of Mahipāla, dated V.S. 1150 (1092 A.C.), tells us that Kirtirāja "conquered in battle the countless hosts of the prince of Mālwa," who appears to have been no other than his contemporary Bhōjadēva. The defeat inflicted by this ruler on the Paramāra forces was so crushing that, as we are also informed by the same record, "the invading troops fled away, leaving even their spears, which were collected by the townsmen for thatching the roofs of their houses".² H.C. Ray seems to be right in holding that 'it was practically impossible for a minor chief like Kirtirāja to inflict this terrible shock on the invading forces 'without the moral and material assistance of his mighty sovereign, the Chandēlla Vidyādhara'.³ It also seems possible that the Dubkūṇḍ Kachchhapaghāta ruler transferred his allegiance from his Chandēlla overlord to Bhōja, as is perhaps signified by the expression of the Dubkūṇḍ inscription, dated V.S. 1145 (1088 A.C.), viz., that "the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhōjadēva, had widely celebrated the skill shown in the management of horses and chariots of Abhimanyu".⁴

Bhōja's political relations with the Chandēllas are known only from a verse in the Mahōbā inscription which states that "he and Kalachuri Chandra (the moon of the Kalachuris) waited upon the Chandēlla prince Vidyādhara, the master of warfare, who had caused the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja, and who was lying on a couch".⁵ The moon of the Kalachuris has been identified with Gāngēya, who was Vidyādhara's contemporary; but with reference to Bhōjadēva's name appearing in the inscription, scholars are not unanimous about his relations with Vidyādhara. D.C. Ganguly held that the Paramāra ruler attacked Vidyādhara with no favourable results,⁶ whereas V.V. Mirashi thought it to refer to Bhōja's siding the Chandēllas in the expedition led by Vidyādhara, in which Rājyapāla, the ruler of Kanauj, was killed;⁷ and P. Bhatia, and following her, K.C. Jain, try to show that "the proved claim to success" made for Vidyādhara might have been related to the repulse of the Mālava army by the Kachchhapaghāta Kirtirāja, with the help of his overlord Vidyādhara,⁸ which we have just seen. Considering all the different views, we may however observe that whereas Ganguly's theory has nothing to support it, that of Bhatia appears to be rather beyond the mark. It does not explain why Vidyādhara's opponent Bhōja should worship his feet and hold him in high esteem. The tenor of the verse which embodies expressions such as *śiṣyavat* and *talpa-bhājam*, coupled with the statement that Vidyādhara caused the downfall of the king of Kānyakubja, goes to show that Mirashi's view is most reasonable, though it is not corroborated by any other evidence.

Another kingdom bordering on the north of the Paramāra empire was that of the Chāhamānas of Śākambhari. Bhōja's contemporaries on the Chāhamāna throne were Vākpatirāja II and his successor Viryarāma. According to some late sources, Vākpatirāja

1 *P.B.P.*, pp. 81 f.

2 No. 155, v. 10.

3 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 825.

4 No. 154, v. 11. That it contains a veiled hint of Abhimanyu's subordination to Bhōja was suggested by H.C. Ray in *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 831 and 870.

5 No. 113 v. 22.

6 *H.P.D.*, pp. 103 f.

7 *C.I.I.* Vol. IV, p. 1xxxix.

8 *P.B.P.*, p. 84; *M.T.A.*, p. 348.

had inflicted a defeat on him.¹ If there is any truth in the information supplied by these late sources, it may be conjectured that to avenge this defeat, Bhōja made an attack on the Chāhamānas in the time of Viryarāma and after killing him, occupied his capital.² But Bhōja could not retain his hold for long, for, we learn from the Sundhā Hill inscription that Viryarāma's successor Chāmundaṛāja, succeeded in liberating his ancestral kingdom with the help of his Nāḍōl kinsman, Anahilla, who is known to have been one of the most energetic rulers of his family. Subsequently, Anahilla also killed the Paramāra general Sādha,³ who appears to have been stationed at that place by Bhōja. This general has not so far been identified.

The Tilakawādā grant of V.S. 1103 (1046 A.C.) states that Bhōja received help from his feudatory Śūrāditya in his struggle against *Sāhavāhana*,⁴ and this name has been taken by some to denote the Chāhamānas.⁵ In our edition of the record we have shown that the two names cannot be connected, and I agree with D.C. Ganguly in identifying *Sāhavāhana* with the Chambā prince.⁶ In view of Bhōja's warfare in some of the still distant regions in the north, it appears possible that his army may have come into conflict with this prince in some of his campaigns in that direction, and it is not necessary to presume that he marched against this enemy in that distant region.

Bhōja was indeed a great warrior, who not only raided all these regions but also extended his power far and wide. But his grandiose imperialistic policy proved disastrous in the end and showed signs of the disruption of the Paramāra empire, as we find in the case of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Pratihāras and particularly in that of the Kalachuri Karna, who has been rightly called the Hindu Napoleon. He had created enemies on all sides. We have already referred to his struggle with the Western Chālukya Jayasimha, whose kingdom he overran in the early part of his reign though not with very favourable results. Jayasimha's successor was Sōmēśvara I (1040-1069 A.C.), who assumed the titles of *Āhavamalla* and *Trailōkyamalla*, and who is represented by Bilhapa to have marched against Dhārā.⁷ We are further informed that *Āhavamalla* burnt Dhārā and Ujjain, and Bhōja was compelled to abandon the city, Māṇḍū, which was another important place near Dhārā, was captured by one of Sōmēśvara's generals, Guṇḍamaya.⁸

Bhōja's most inveterate enemies were perhaps on the eastern and western frontiers of his kingdom, viz., the Kalachuris and the Chaulūkyas respectively. Since the time when the Chaulūkyā Mūlarāja had suffered a defeat at the hands of Vākpati-Muñja, the Chaulūkyā-Paramāra relations had become exceedingly hostile, and to add to this, Bhōja humiliated Mūlarāja's son Chāmundaṛāja (1010 A.C.) by forcing him to give up his royal garb when the latter was passing through Mālwa in course of a pilgrimage to Vārāṇasī.⁹ Chāmundaṛāja's successor, Bhima I (1022-1064 A.C.) also was a contemporary of Bhōja; and we are informed by Mērutuṅga that taking advantage of the former's occupation in Sindh, the latter sent his general Kulachandra to invade Gujarat. The general sacked

1 *Prithvirāja-vijaya*, Canto V, vv. 55-60. For the other references, see *E.C.D.*, p. 34, where it is also remarked that the information supplied by these late sources is untenable.

2 *Prithvirāja-vijaya*, Canto V v. 66. Bhōja's attack on the Chāhamāna Vākpati may have been due to the fact that the latter had slain the Guhila Ambāprasāda who was his feudatory. For details, see *P.B.P.*, p. 87. That the Paramāra king was in possession of this region is known from the Chirwā inscription (*Vienna Orient. Journ.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 155ff.)

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX p. 75, v. 17. The use of the prefix *anu* shows that the liberation of his kingdom by Chāmundaṛāja and the assassination of Sādha are to be taken as two separate events, one following the other. Also see *E.C.D.*, p. 35, n. 16.

4 No. 15, v. 4.

5 *P.B.P.*, pp. 87 f.; *M.T.A.*, pp. 349 f.

6 *H.P.D.*, pp. 109 f., where the details of the struggle are given.

7 *V.D.C.*, Canto I, vv. 91-94. Also see *Hyderabad Arch. Series*, No. 8, p. 13, v. 43.

8 *A.R.*, Mysore Arch. Dept., 1928, pp. 68 f.

9 *D.K.* VII, pp. 547 ff.

Apahilla-pattana and returned victorious.¹ It is perhaps this victory of Bhōja that is referred to in the Kālvan grant and in verse 19 of the Udaipur *praśasti*. But the hostility did not come to an end here, as we shall see below.

In his war against the Gūjjaras, Bhōja was helped by his feudatory Satyarāja of the Vāgaḍa branch, who is stated to have received his fortune through the favour of his sovereign, as discussed below in the political history of that house. Taking the case of the Ābū Paramāra house, at the time of the struggle, Bhōja also appears to have incited Dhandhuka against the latter's overlord Bhīma. Bhīma captured Dhandhuka's kingdom, and the latter ran to take refuge with Bhōja, as to be seen below, in the account of that branch.

Reverting to the Chaulūkyā-Paramāra strife, we see that after his return from Sindh, Bhīma became enraged when he knew about Bhōja's campaign against his kingdom in his absence, and ultimately made up his mind to wipe out the very existence of the Paramāra kingdom. He formed an alliance with the Kalachuri Karṇa,² whose father Gāṅgēya, as observed above, had sustained a defeat at the hands of Bhōja, some time before. Bhīma proceeded against Mālava from the west and Karṇa from the east, almost simultaneously. Just about this time, Bhōja died, leaving the kingdom in a state of great confusion. As we learn from the Vāḍnagar *praśasti*, the invaders soon seized Dhārā, "the capital of the Mālava-chakravartin",³ and dethroned Jayasimha, the immediate successor of Bhōja.

Bhōja was the most powerful ruler of the Paramāra dynasty. He is well known not only for his extensive military conquests, but also as a pious man, a poet, a patron of men of letters, and a voluminous writer. His military skill was of a high order; and as a warrior he extended his empire up to the Nāsik District in the south and Bhōjpur (Rāisēn District) in the east, and made his hold firm in the outlying provinces of Gujarat and Rājasthān, as we know from the Mōḍāsā and the Bāṅswāḍā grants. It is true that victory did not always smile on him in his retaliatory expeditions, and towards the close of his reign the kingdom was seriously disturbed by the menace of those whom he had vanquished earlier; but considering that his was an age of mutually warring states, the success he achieved was indeed creditable. It is also his imperialistic policy that created enemies on all the sides of his kingdom. Particularly in his later age he devoted more of his time to peaceful and cultural pursuits and entrusted his military exploits to his generals; and this policy also proved to be disastrous.

A stanza in the *Pattana Manuscript Catalogue* published in the G.O.S., No. LXXVI, p. 49, enumerates Bhōja's victory over the kings of Draviḍa, Lāṭa, Baṅga, Gauda, Gūjara, Kira and Kāmbōja; and the next one says that he terrified the kings of Chōḍa, Āndhra, Karpāṭa, Gūjara, Chēḍi and Kānyakubja. His success against some of these kings has already been discussed above; but this description of the poet, which is full of figures of speech, shows his eagerness to exhibit his skill in poetic composition and is of much less historical interest. Nevertheless, as coming from a poet living in the kingdom of an enemy's house, it speaks highly of Bhōja's warlike activities in general.

Bhōja's literary activities are described in a subsequent section below. The Udaipur *praśasti* calls him a *kavi-rāja*. His benevolent nature is known from the donations recorded in the grants issued by him. In the field of religion he was himself a zealous Śaiva, (*Bhargava-bhakta*, in the Udaipur *praśasti*), which also gives him the credit of building a number of temples in honour of this deity. It is probable that following the precepts

1 P.C.M., pp. 32 ff. Also see H.P.D., pp. 112, where it is said that some of the Gujarat chroniclers are vague and some do not agree in details or are not corroborated by epigraphic evidence.

2 P.C.M., p. 51.

3 Ep. Ind., Vol. 1, p. 297.

laid down by himself in the *Samarāṅgaṇasūradhāra*, he also began the actual construction of some other temples, which were completed by his successors.¹ The policy of his religious tolerance is indicated by the Kālvaṇ plate recording a donation to a Jaina saint by one of his feudatories, and also from the Bhōjpur inscription which records the installation of a Jaina image at that place in his reign.

From literary references we gather that Bhōja rebuilt and beautified the city of Dhārā. All the earlier inscriptions of the house (Nos. 1-8) are from either Gujarāt or from the Ujjain area, and it is in Bhōja's Mahuḍi grant that we find the expression *Dhār-āvasthitair-asmābhiḥ*² for the first time. This seems to suggest that this monarch permanently established his capital at this city, some time before 1018 A.C., the date of this grant. Al Bērūnī, who visited India in 1030 A.C., mentions Dhārā as the capital of Mālwa.³ But even subsequent to this time, Ujjain does not appear to have lost its importance, for we find that Padmagupta-Parimala, who wrote a few years earlier, mentions it as the first and Dhārā as the other capital of his patron, Sindhurāja.⁴

Bhuvanāpāla, the great-grandfather of the unnamed treasury officer of the Yajvapāla king Chāhaḍadēva, served Bhōja as his Chief Minister for sometime, as we are informed by the incomplete and undated inscription from Narwar. This information, however, is not corroborated by any of the Paramāra records.

Bhōja was the most glorious and renowned king of his dynasty. His name will endure as a talented ruler who encouraged literature and art and a patron of scholars and himself a polymath and a poet of high rank. The best tribute to this exalted king is paid in the Vaḍnagar *praśasti* of Kumārāpāla who belonged to his inimical house of the Chaulūkyas, by using the epithet of *Mālava-Chakravartin*⁵ for him. Viewing the prosperity that Mālwa enjoyed during his reign, he has appropriately been called 'Bhōja, the Great.'

JAYASIMHA,

c. 1055 to c. 1070 A.C.

Jayasimha is known to have been a successor of Bhōjadēva, who, as we have seen above, died in the political confusion prevailing in the Mālava kingdom. His relationship in the house is not definitely known; he may have been a brother or a son of Bhōja.⁶

We have two records of the time of this ruler.⁷ One of them is a copper-plate grant issued by Jayasimha himself and found at Māndhātā in the East Nēmāḍ District of Madhya Pradesh. It is dated V.S. 1112 (1059 A.C.). It uses for the prince the expression *tat-pāḍānudhyāta* which separates his name from that of Bhōja. Another record of the time of this ruler is on stone found at Pānāhēḍā (locally called Pārāhēḍā) in the Bānswāḍā District of Rājasthān. It is dated V.S. 1116 (1059 A.C.) when his vassal, Maṇḍalika, was on the throne of the junior branch of the Vāgaḍa country. This inscription too is silent as to the relationship of Jayasimha with his predecessor Bhōja.

1 By way of an example, I am tempted to suggest that the construction of the celebrated Śiva temple at Udaipur (Vidishā Dist.) may have been begun by him and it was completed by Udayāditya who in No. 19 is stated only to have raised the flag-staff.

2 No. 9, l. 7. Padmagupta, however, mentions Dhārā as the capital of the dynasty in N.S.C. Canto.

3 Sachau's translation, Vol. I, p. 202.

4 N.S.C., Canto I, v. 58 and v. 90, respectively.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 297.

6 The first of these views is due to A.S. Altekar (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 132 ff.) and the second, which I think rather more probable, is due to H.C. Ray. See *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 873. On the statement of the P.C.M., Ray has also noted the name of the poetess Arundhati as one of the queens of Bhōja but it is doubtful whether she or some other lady was the mother of Jayasimha. See *ibid.*, n. 2.

7 Nos. 18 and 83.

Reference has already been made to the joint attack of Bhīma and Karna and also to Bhōja's death and annexation of his kingdom by the enemies who dethroned Jayasinha.¹ In this discomfiture the dethroned prince was compelled to seek the aid of the Western Chālukya emperor Āhavamalla *alias* Sōmēśvara I, who was himself an adversary of the Paramāras, but presumably guided by the diplomatic policy to weaken the Kalachuri king lest he should approach the northern border of the Chālukya kingdom some time subsequently, he agreed to help Jayasinha and deputed his second son, Vikramāditya, with a strong force to help him. Vikramāditya himself was an astute general, and his mission appears to have been facilitated by a quarrel which in the meanwhile sprang up between Bhīma and Karna, on the distribution of the conquered region.² The Chālukya prince eventually succeeded in driving away the allied forces of the enemies and in establishing his ally Jayasinha on the throne of Mālava.³ This event took place some time before 1055 A.C. when Jayasinha issued his Māndhātā grant referred to above.

Nothing definite about the military achievement of Jayasinha has so far been known, except that some time before 1059 A.C. he came into a struggle with a general of the name of Kanha. His contemporary on the subordinate throne of Vāgaḍa was Maṇḍalika, who, as we have seen in the history of that house, caught this great general, whose identity is so far unknown and whom he presented to Jayasinha. In the absence of any evidence, nothing can be definitely said about the battle, fought by this subordinate ruler.

Jayasinha was intensely loyal and greatly devoted to Vikramāditya for the latter's help in placing him on the throne; and on the evidence of some Chōḷa inscriptions, D.C. Ganguly held that the Paramāra ruler joined his ally in the latter's expedition against the eastern Chālukya king, Rājendra II.⁴ In support of his contention, Ganguly observed that the name of Vikramāditya's ally, which appears as Jananātha in some records, has to be taken as denoting Jayasinha; but we have no definite evidence for this identification, and therefore I agree with P. Bhatia and others who hold Ganguly's theory to be of doubtful validity.⁵ As already pointed out by both these scholars, the reading of the name itself and its interpretations are not free from difficulties, which have given rise to a controversy.

The name of Jayasinha is not to be found in any other record of the house, particularly in Udaipur and the Nagpur Museum *prasastis* and in the Māndhātā grant of Jayasinha-Jayavarman, all of which mention Udayāditya as the immediate successor of Bhōja. The first of these records, after making reference to the death of Bhōja, says that "the earth, like Dhāra, was filled with dense darkness and his foes (and) his hereditary warriors became infirm in body. Then arose king Udayāditya, another Sun, as it were, destroying the dense darkness, the exalted foes, with the rays issued from his strong sword".⁶ This statement is corroborated by the Nagpur Museum stone inscription which states that "when the realm was overrun by floods (*kuly-ākula*, i.e., crowded with nobles) in which the sovereign was submerged and the earth was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who joined with the Karpāṭas and others, Udayāditya acted like

1 H.C. Ray observed that Jayasinha may have been compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of Karna. See *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 874. But this is only a surmise, unsupported by any evidence.

2 According to Mērutunga, the understanding between the two parties was that Karna promised half of the Mālava kingdom to Bhīma, but he violated this agreement and annexed the whole of Mālwa. This enraged Bhīma, who invaded the Chēdi country. See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. xciv, and p. civ, n. 5.

3 *V.D.C.*, III, v. 67.

4 *H.P.D.*, pp. 125 ff.

5 For details, see *P.B.P.*, pp. 99 ff., and *M.T.A.*, p. 353.

6 No. 24, v. 21.

the holy Boar".¹ We have instances to show that genealogical lists in inscriptions occasionally omit the names of rulers, owing either to their short rule or due to the fact that they belonged to a collateral line; but as H. C. Ray has pointed out, the motive omitting Jayasimha's name in all the above-mentioned records is significant, and the reason for this omission may have been the fact that "Udayāditya usurped the Mālava crown by ousting the legal successor of Bhōja".² But to me the motive for this omission appears to have been the fact that Jayasimha secured his throne with the help of the Chālukyas who were the inveterate enemies of the Paramāras; and hence it was quite natural for the poets of these records to drop altogether the whole unpleasant episode along with his name.

The Nagpur Museum stone inscription categorically asserts that at the time of Bhōja's death the country of Mālava was being invaded and taken possession of by Karna, who was joined with the Karpājas and others. Karna is evidently the Kalachuri emperor, as already pointed out by F. Kielhorn and V.V. Mirashi.³ We have seen that this ruler had been repelled from Mālava in his joint attack with the Chaulūkyā Bhima, by Vikramāditya; and the present one was his second attack, which has been placed some fifteen years subsequently.⁴ Some members of the royal family also appear to have been watching an opportunity; and they invaded the country when it was torn by internal dissensions, probably giving rise to a civil war, as is implied by the statement of the Nagpur Museum stone inscription, as observed above. It is also possible that Jayasimha's authority may have been challenged by some other scions of the Paramāra house who may have been presumably encouraged by Karna himself as suggested by V.V. Mirashi.⁵ In the meanwhile the situation in the Deccan had considerably changed. The mighty Chalukya ruler Āhavamalla-Sōmēśvara was dead and succeeded by his son Sōmēśvara II (c. 1068-1076 A.C.), who suspected his younger brother Vikramāditya to be conspiring against him with Jayasimha of Mālava; and in order to punish the former, he made an alliance with Karna and invaded Mālava. The Sudi stone inscription dated Śaka 996 (1075 A.C.) describes Sōmēśvara (II) as a blazing fire to the ocean that is the race of the Mālavas.⁶

The Dōngargāon stone inscription of the time of Jagaddēva, dated Śaka 1034 (1112 A.C.), shows the number of the enemies who attacked Mālwā, to be three.⁷ Two of these invaders were, of course, the Kalachuri Karna and the Chalukya Sōmēśvara, as already seen; and I am disposed to agree with V.V. Mirashi, who, on the evidence of some records found in the Kanarese country, has shown the third enemy to have been the Gaṅga chief Udayāditya combined with the valiant Hoysaḷa prince Erēyaṅga.⁸

Invaded simultaneously by all these enemies, the Mālava kingdom appeared as if facing a great disaster, which, according to the Nagpur Museum stone inscription, "resembled the catastrophe of world destruction when the mighty oceans sweep over and submerge it". Jayasimha appears to have been killed in the struggle, as probably implied by the expression *nashṭe svāmīni*, and there was nobody to cope with the situation. At

1 No. 33, v. 32. The same idea is expressed in No. 60, v. 36. The expression *magnasvāmīni* is probably a veiled reference to Jayasimha's death which appears to have occurred in the chaos following Bhōja's death.

2 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 873.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 181, and *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 179, respectively. also see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. xcix, n. 1. The latter part of the Udaipur *prastāvi* says that Udayāditya totally destroyed the lord of Dāhala, and his opponent must therefore be taken to have been the Kalachuri king and not Chaulūkyā.

4 For details, see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. xcvi-1.

5 See *ibid.*

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 96.

7 No. 28, v. 5.

8 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. xcix. For the different views on the subject, see *C.G.*, p. 439, n. 107.

this critical time, Udayāditya, a brother of Bhōja, rose to the occasion, and as we are informed by the Nagpur Museum stone inscription, acted like the holy Boar.¹ The latter part (B) of the Udaipur *prāśasti* is rather specific on this point; it figuratively asserts that in the battle which was very fierce, Udayāditya obtained victory as his bride and also that his elephant brought about the total destruction (*samhāra*) of the lord of Dāhala.² This statement seems to imply that Karṇa was probably killed by Udayāditya, who retrieved the fortune of the family not only by frustrating Karṇa's imperial ambition but also by driving away the other adversaries who had helped him in his war against the Paramāras. In this gigantic task he was helped by Vighraharāja, the Chāhamāna ruler of Sākambhari.³

The time of the struggle may tolerably be fixed. It certainly took place after 1068-69 A.C.⁴ when Sōmēśvara ascended the throne of Kalyāṇi, but before 1071 A.C., the date of the Baḷagāṇive inscription,⁵ in which it is referred to. Thus it may be placed between these two dates and about 1070 A.C., which may perhaps be taken as the last year of the reign of Jayasīmbha and the first year of that of Udayāditya.⁶

UDAYĀDITYA,

c. 1070 to 1093 A.C.

For this ruler we have five inscriptions - three from Madhya Pradesh, found at Udaipur (Vidishā Dist.), Dhār and Kamēd (Ujjain Dist.) and dated, respectively; in V.S. 1137, 1138 and 1140; and two from Rājasthān, discovered at Jhālrapāṭan and Shērgadh, respectively, dated in V.S. 1143 and 11xx.⁷ Three more inscriptions, technically known as *nāga-bandhas*, were found one each at Ujjain, Dhār and Un. They are all undated and may probably be ascribed to this ruler.⁸ Thus the earliest and the latest known dates for Udayāditya are 1080 and 1085 A.C., respectively; but as we have just seen, the upper limit of his reign may tentatively be placed at *circa* 1070 A.C.⁹

How Udayāditya was related to Bhōja has for long been a matter of keen controversy. Verse 32 of the Nagpur Museum stone inscription mentions him as a *bandhu* of Bhōja, and the Dōngargāon stone inscription introduces him as a *bhrātā* of that ruler.¹⁰ Showing the different meanings of both of these words, *viz.*, *bandhu* and *bhrātā*, and

1 No. 33, v. 32.

2 No. 24, vv. 23-24. Suggesting that Karṇa may have been killed on the battle-field, V.V. Mirashi held that it seems to conflict with the statement of the Khairhā and the Jabalpur plates of his son Yaśaṅkarṇa, according to which the former ruler himself performed the coronation ceremony of the latter and this is the reason why Karṇa should have abdicated the throne in favour of his son. See *C.I.I.* Vol. IV, p. c and n. 1; also his Nos. 56-57, v. 16. But the conflict, which is only seeming, disappears by suggesting that the coronation may have been performed by Karṇa just before he marched against Mālava, apprehending the fierce nature of the battle in which victory was at stake and his life too in danger. We have a similar example of Muṇja-Vākpāti who coronated his younger brother Sindhurāja actually before his march against Tailapa, who was his deadly enemy. See *N.S.C.*, Canto XI, v. 98.

3 For details, see *C.G.*, p. 58.

4 *E.C.*, Vol. VII, Sk., 136, p. 181. This is the year of the death of Āhavamalla.

5 *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 164 ff.

6 According to V.V. Mirashi, it is c. 1073 A.C.

7 Nos. 19-23. Of these, No. 21 is recently discovered and has been edited here for the first time.

8 Nos. 25-27.

9 A still earlier date V/1116 and Śaka 981 (1059-60 A.C.) of this king is given in a very late record of the sixteenth century found at Udaipur. But F.E. Hall has called it "a horribly incorrect scrawl". See *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII, p. 45, and Vol. IX, p. 545 ff. Also see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 48, n. 1. The inscription is in Sanskrit and not in vernacular, as generally taken. However, relying only on the date of the record, which may have been historically true, it may perhaps be held that Udayāditya may have been placed by his brother Bhōja to govern the region around Udaipur, which he continued till 1059-60 A.C., and hence his name in this inscription.

10 No. 33, v. 32; and No. 28, v. 5, respectively.

giving some instances from epigraphs, D.C. Ganguly suggested that Udayāditya was a distant relation of Bhōja.¹ Relying on the evidence supplied by an inscription dated in the sixteenth century and found at Udaipur in the Vidishā District, the same scholar held that Udayāditya was the son of Gyātā (Jñātā), grandson of Gōṇḍala and great-grandson of Śūravira of the Prāvara (Paramāra) family. But the controversy is set at nought by the statement of the Jainād stone inscription, which describes Jagaddēva, the son of Udayāditya, as a paternal nephew of Bhōja.² On the evidence of this inscription, H.C. Ray and V.V. Mirashi concluded that Udayāditya was a brother of Bhōja.³ This view is now generally accepted, though it is rather doubtful whether both these rulers were coterine brothers of each other. For it seems less likely that this successor of Bhōja was still ruling in 1093 A.C. which is his latest known date supplied by the Dēwās grant of his son Naravarman, stating that the latter performed the first anniversary of the former in V.S. 1152 or 1094 A.C.⁴

After his accession to the throne, the first and the foremost task before Udayāditya was to establish order and peace in the kingdom and also to make it immune from foreign invasions. We have seen that Bhōja died in chaos which may have continued in the interregnum of about fifteen years when Udayāditya began to rule. The Sehore grant of Arjunavarman, dated V.S. 1270 (1213 A.C.), states that he (Udayāditya) with his fierce arms, exterminated mighty kings maintaining powerful armies.⁵ Some of the feudatories also may have openly revolted against him, as can be known from the example of Maṇḍalika, of the Vāgaḍa branch of the Paramāras, who was devoted to Jayasīnha and whose son Chāmūṇḍarāja may have turned against Udayāditya for the same reason, as we have seen in the account of that branch.

Udayāditya had for some years seen no danger from the south, since the Chālukya Sōmēśvara II was then engaged in a struggle with the Chōla monarch, Vira Rājendra.⁶ But in 1076 A.C. Sōmēśvara was ousted by his younger brother Vikramāditya VI, who was an ally of the Paramāra Jayasīnha, as we have already noticed, and who, for the same reason, appears to have led a successful campaign in Mālwa, soon after his accession. In an inscription dated 1077 A.C., he is described as "the source of a great fever of terror to the king of Dhārā".⁷ It is therefore presumable that he may have annexed to his kingdom a part of the Mālava territory to the south of the Gōḍāvari.

A great danger which Udayāditya had to face was from the Chaulūkyā Karpa (1064-1094 A.C.), who invaded Mālava some time after 1079 A.C. In this invasion, Karpa is known to have achieved some initial success, probably taking advantage of Udayāditya's pre-occupation in some other direction, but ultimately he was repelled by the Paramāra king.⁸

Udayāditya also followed the master-stroke policy of forming matrimonial alliances to strengthen his political relations. He gave in marriage his daughter Śyāmalādēvi to the Guhila prince Vijayasīnha, and her daughter Ālhapadēvi in her turn, was married to the Kalachuri Gayākarna.⁹

Udayāditya was not only a military leader of a high rank but also noteworthy for

1 *H.P.D.*, p. 133.

2 No. 29, v. 6.

3 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 876; and *P.I.H.C.*, 5th Session (Hyderabad), 1941, pp. 256 ff., respectively.

4 No. 31.

5 No. 48, v. 8.

6 K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōlas*, pp. 333 ff.

7 *E.C.* Vol VII, Sk., No. 124, p. 171.

8 *P.B.P.*, p. 109; and *M.T.A.*, p. 356. D. Sharma held that the Chāhamāna Vighararāja III helped Udayāditya in defeating Karpa of Gujārāt. See *E.C.D.*, pp. 36 ff. Also see *H.P.D.*, p. 131.

9 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 60, text vv. 20-23.

propagating education among his subjects. He developed the educational institutes established by Bhōjadēva, at Dhār, by engraving charts containing the Nāgarī alphabet and grammatical terminations. The same type of charts are also found at Ujjain and On, as noted below in the section dealing with literature. He was also a great builder. He constructed, or rather, completed, the celebrated Śiva temple at Udaipur (Vidishā District), one of the "superb specimens of the Hindu architecture of the eleventh century".¹ He also excavated a tank in the vicinity of the same village, which also appears to have been extended and beautified by him.²

Udayāditya was a follower of Śaivism. He is known to have obtained a son, Jagaddēva, through his devotion to Śiva.³ He granted a village named Vilāpadraka, to the god Sōmanātha, situated in the fort of Kōsavardhana, identified with the modern Shērgadh, in the Kōṭā District of Rājasthān.⁴ His example appears to have been followed by his subjects, as we know from a Śiva temple built by the *pattakila* Jannaka, an oilman, at Jhālrapātan, and also from an image of Pārvatī performing penance (*agni-sthūā*), found at Dhār and installed during his reign. The image is a specimen of the statutory art of the time.⁵

The *Rāsamālā* records a tradition, according to which "Udayāditya performed service to a Rājā of Mandoogarh, on whom, when summoned, he was in the habit of offering speedy attendance." Mandoogarh is no doubt Māndū, near Dhār, and H.C. Ray is inclined to think that the chief of this place was an officer of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI.⁶ But neither this tradition is confirmed by evidence nor Ray's contention.

The *Rāsamālā* also contains another tradition, according to which Udayāditya had two queens, one of whom was of the Vāghēlā clan and the other of the Sōlānki clan. The Vāghēlā queen bore him a son Rindhuwal (*i.e.* Ranadhavala?) who was elder and the heir-apparent. The son of the Sōlānki queen was Jug-dēva (Jagaddēva). On account of a "palace intrigue", as H.C. Ray calls it, the latter of these sons left Mālwa and entered the service of the Chaulūkyā king Siddharāja of Gujarat, whom he served for eighteen years. But when the former "advanced towards Dhārā, Jug-dēva resigned his service and returned to his father, who invested him with the royal authority and died. He reigned for 52 years...". But this statement involves chronological difficulties, since Siddharāja (1094-1144 A.C.) was not a contemporary of Udayāditya; and as Ray has observed, the tradition appears to be totally unreliable,⁷ except giving us the historic name Jagaddēva and Rindhuwal (Ranadhavala), which are also known from the epigraphic sources, as we shall see later on.

The Nagpur Museum stone inscription, dated V.S. 1161(1104-05 A.C.), mentions two sons of Udayāditya, namely, Lakshmadēva (probably the elder) and Naravarman. We have seen above that according to the evidence furnished by the recently found Dēwās grant, Naravarman was the immediate successor of his father, and here we have also to take into account another statement which goes in favour of this view, *viz.*, that of the Kamēd inscription, which too has been recently discovered and is dated V.S. 1140 (1082 A.C.).⁸ It records the donation of a plot of land by Naravarman for perpetually burning a lamp for (in honour of) his brother Lakshmadēva, which undoubtedly shows that the latter had deceased some time before the date of this inscription. This conclusion corroborates

1 No. 181.

2 *Ibid.*

3 No. 28, v. 7.

4 No. 23, ll. 6-8.

5 Nos. 22 and 20, respectively.

6 *D.H.N.I.*, vol. II, p. 876.

7 *Ibid.*

8 No. 21.

INTRODUCTION

our finding that Udayāditya was immediately succeeded on the Paramāra throne by his son Naravarman; and accordingly, we have to abandon the view, held so far, viz., that Lakshmadēva's reign has to be fitted in between those of Udayāditya and Naravarman.¹ In view of the evidence which has come out very recently, we are reduced to the only presumption that Udayāditya may have placed both his sons, Lakshmadēva and Naravarman, in charge of the eastern and western regions of his dominion, bestowing on each of them full powers of a regent or viceroy, since we find them both making donations in their own authority in his lifetime.

If the view expressed above is accepted, we are further led to believe that the military achievements attributed to Lakshmadēva in the Nagpur Museum stone inscription are all to be dated in his father's lifetime, and certainly before 1082 A.C., the date of the Kamēd inscription.

The Nagpur Museum stone inscription devotes as many as twenty verses to describing, in a figurative way, the various military campaigns of Lakshmadēva, as we find in Raghu's *dig-vijaya* in the *Raghuvamśa*. This prince is said to have subjugated the earth in all directions. In the east, he threatened the lord of Gauḍa, defeated the armies of Aṅga and Kalinga and occupied Tripurī; in the south, he subjugated the Chōlas and some other tributaries, and invaded the Pāṇḍya country and Ceylon; in the west, he achieved victory over the Timiṅgalas and other tribes living in the Maināka mountain; and in the north, he vanquished the Turushkas and the Kīras.² Of this laudatory account, as Kielhorn has rightly observed, the only tangible and probably true facts mentioned are an expedition undertaken against Tripurī (v. 34), and some fight with the Turushkas (v. 54), for, as it is well known, some of the kingdoms in the extremities of India, for example, that of the Pāṇḍyas and that of the Chōlas and Ceylon were far beyond the range of the possibility of his invasions. Lakshmadēva's Kalachuri adversary was Yaśahkarna (1073-1123 A.C.) who was a weak ruler and who suffered defeat not only at the hands of the Chandēlla Sallakshavarman, as we have shown in our account of the Chandēlla dynasty, but also at the hands of the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI;³ and taking advantage of this situation, Lakshmadēva also may have led a successful campaign against Tripurī. Lakshmadēva's encounter with the Turushkas appears to refer to the invasion of Mahmūd, Governor of Punjāb, who, as Salmān tells us, invaded Mālwa and occupied Ujjain and destroyed temples at that place, when the Paramāras had to succumb.⁴ This account is just the reverse of that of the *prastāvi*. It is possible that Mahmūd may have had some initial success, but was ultimately repelled.

D.C. Ganguly has wrongly identified Lakshmadēva with Jagaddēva, another son of Udayāditya.⁵ H.C. Ray held that Jagaddēva was a *biruda* of Lakshmadēva, but he also assumed the possibility that the former may have been a brother or half-brother of the latter.⁶ But they were in fact two different princes and related as brothers, as we shall see below in an appendix at the end of this section.

NARAVARMAN

1093 to 1134 A.C.

On the evidence of the Dēwās grant, which records that this ruler performed the first death anniversary of his father Udayāditya in the month of August in 1094 A.C.,

1 As was first pointed out by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 182.

2 No. 33, vv. 35-54.

3 See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. civ, n. 2.

4 *Elliot*, Vol IV, p. 524

5 *H.P.D.*, p. 142.

6 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 878.

we have seen that he ascended the throne in 1093 or 1094 A.C., and continued to rule till about October-November of 1134 A.C., as we know from the grant issued by his son Yaśovarman on the occasion of his first death anniversary, in 1135 A.C.¹ Thus Naravarman had a reign of about forty-one years.

Besides the afore-mentioned Dēwās grant, we have the following records for the reign of this king. One of them is from Amēra, in the Vidishā District, and dated V.S. 1151 (1094 A.C.); the Nagpur Museum stone inscription, dated V.S. 1161 (1104-05 A.C.); the Kadambapadraka grant dated V.S. 1167 (1110 A.C.); the Shērgadh (Kōṭā District, Rājasthān) stone inscription, dated V.S. 1191 (1134 A.C.), the Rājpur copper-plate inscription, and in addition to these, two stone inscriptions from Vidishā, both of which are fragmentary and do not show any date.²

Naravarman's reign was not as glorious as that of his father. The Paramāra records are altogether reticent about his warlike achievements. The reason for this silence appears to be that he was not a military leader of great ability nor did he undertake any successful campaign against any of his adversaries. We also know from the records of the Chaulūkyas that he had also to suffer reverses. His eastern neighbours were the Chandēllas of Jējakabhukti and his contemporary on the Chandēlla throne was Sallakshavarman (c. 1100-1110 A.C.), who is reported in a later Chandēlla inscription to have snatched the royal fortune of the Mālawās.³ This statement seems to imply that Sallakshana, who defeated the Chēdi king Yaśahkarna, as to be seen in the history of the Chandēllas and whose kingdom was almost coterminous with that of Naravarman, may have carried on some border raids in Mālwa, though it is doubtful whether he succeeded in wresting any territory of Naravarman's kingdom, as observed below in the account of the Chandēlla royal house.

Naravarman had also to suffer reverses at the hands of the Chāhamānas of Śākambhari. He was defeated by the Chāhamāna ruler, Ajayarāja, who captured his general Sōllana, after slaying the three warriors Chāchigadēva, Sindhula and Yaśōrāja.⁴ The battle is said to have been fought "on the borders of Avanti",⁵ which shows that the offensive was taken by the Chāhamānas, and Naravarman could not succeed in repelling it. The Bijōliā inscription also represents Ajayarāja's son, Arpōrāja, to have gained a victory over Nirvāna-Nārāyana, which was an epithet of Naravarman.⁶ It is not known if both the events refer to the same battle in which Arpōrāja may have fought as prince under his father.

On the basis of the *Vikrama-Chōlamulā*, D.C. Ganguly held that Naravarman came into a conflict with the Chōla king Vikrama (1118-1135 A.C.)⁷ but this is not corroborated by any evidence. The Paramāra king's conflict with the forces of the remote Chōla king appears to be rather inconceivable, though it is possible that his army may have come into clash with the forces of this enemy in one of his expeditions in the south.

An important feature of the history of this period is the resumption of the rivalry between the Paramāras and the Chaulūkyas, which had ceased for some time after the

1 No. 38.

2 Nos. 30, 32-37, and 198, respectively. To these we have to add the Madhucharaghar (Hādantī) stone inscription, dated V.S. 1164 (1107 A.C.), which records the construction of a Śiva temple by Hara, the son of Mahādēva and grandson of the minister Rudrāditya. The record was noticed by Col. Tod in *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 226. The stone is now not traceable. It supplies an intermediate date. See *I.N.J.*, No. 175.

3 No. 145, v. 4.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 104, v. 15. Also see *P.V.*, V, v. 85.

5 See *E.C.D.*, p. 180, ll. 11-12. It is suggested that Ajayarāja invaded Mālwa in order to help Jayasinha C.G., p. 71; but also see *P.B.P.*, 117.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, p. 84, v. 17. As the history of the Chāhamānas of this period is not known in detail, we may hold with D.C. Ganguly that the defeated Mālavarāja was either Naravarman or Yaśovarman. See *H.P.D.*, p. 166.

7 *H.P.D.*, pp. 161 f.

defeat of Karna at the hands of Udayāditya. This hostility was resumed in the reign of Karna's successor, Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.C.), a powerful ruler who ascended the throne almost about the same time as Naravarman. Mērutunga tells us that Naravarman's son, Yaśovarman invaded Gujarat while Jayasimha was out of his capital, and it was with great difficulty that the Gujarāt minister, Sāntu, pacified the invader and made him withdraw. The chronicler then proceeds to state that on knowing it all after his return, Jayasimha was incensed and declared a war against Mālwa, which continued for twelve years down to the time of Yaśovarman.¹ Mērutunga's account is supported by the other chroniclers of Gujarāt, for example, by the *Dvyāśraya-Kāvya* and the *Vasantavilāsa*,² and is also corroborated by epigraphic evidences. The Talwāḍā (Bānswāḍā Dist.) inscription of Jayasimha, the date of which is defaced but falls between V.S. 1161 and 1195 (1104-1139 A.C.), states that Jayasimha "humbled the pride of Naravarman".³ The Nanānā grant of the Chāhamāna Ālhapā supplements this information by telling us that this prince joined his overlord Jayasimha, in his campaign in Mālwa, and frightened by his presence, Naravarman betook himself to his fort.⁴

It is stated in the *Kumārāpālacharita* (V, v. 41) that Jayasimha destroyed Dhārā and killed its king Naravarman. Since both Naravarman and his son Yaśovarman were contemporaries of Jayasimha, H.C. Ray held it possible that both these rulers lost their lives in the protracted struggle which lasted for about twelve years.⁵ This suggestion appears plausible only so far as Naravarman is concerned, as we do not hear of him after this incident, but it is not tenable in the case of Yaśovarman, who is known to have continued even after the struggle was over, as we shall see in its proper place. It may, however, be remarked here that the calamity which befell the kingdom of the Paramāras in the last days of Bhōjadēva, though temporarily warded off during the reign of Udayāditya, now assumed greater intensity, resulting in the gradual degeneration of the Paramāra kingdom and leading to its downfall, in course of time.

In his last days, Naravarman's kingdom appears to have become circumscribed, and some of his subordinates also may have caused troubles, which he could not suppress, as he had grown very old by this time.⁶ On the evidence of an inscription found at Inṅanapadra, modern Rīngnōd in the Ratlam District of Madhya Pradesh, dated V.S. 1190 (1132-33 A.C.), I have shown elsewhere that Vijayapāla, whose donation to a Śiva temple is recorded in it and who seems to have been a local governor or a feudatory under the Paramāra king, openly declared independence, as shown by the imperial titles attached to his name in the record.⁷ It is thus evident that Naravarman was not in a position to have a strong hold over his own kingdom; and in view of what has been stated here, his description as a great military leader in some of the later inscriptions⁸ has to be taken as merely conventional. Thus it seems evident that from his time onwards the empire reared by the genius of Bhōjadēva and the heroism of Udayāditya began to decline.

However, Naravarman himself was a great scholar and a talented poet, as is evidenced by the *praśasti* composed by him and engraved on a stone slab now preserved

1 *P.C.M.*, pp. 85 ff. Some scholars associate the event mentioned in the *P.C.M.* with the reign of Yaśovarman himself. See *J.M.P.I.P.*, Vol. II, p. 6.

2 *D.K.*, Canto XIV. The account is corroborated by the other Gujarāt chronicles, though varying in details.

3 *A.R.R.M.*, 1914-15, p. 2, No. 4. *I.N.I.*, No. 1521.

4 *E.C.D.*, appx. V (iv), p. 186, ll. 12-14. Cf. *Samprāpya prabhu-Siddharāja-vachasā yuddhāya dharaṇītalē; Tad-bhūyā Naravarmma-bhūpatir-abhūt prākāra-durge-āśrayah*.

5 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 971.

6 From the evidence of the Kamēd stone inscription (No. 21), we have suggested that Naravarman may have been placed in charge of the region around Ujjain some time before this year, and he must have been at least 20 years of age by that time. This indicates that when he died in 1133 A.C. he must have been an old man of about 70.

7 No. 158.

8 The same remark is applicable to other stone inscriptions (No. 49, v. 9, and No. 60, vv. 37-38), describing the king's *digvijaya* in all directions. These are, after all, *praśastis*.

in the Nagpur Museum. Verse 56 of the same inscription says that he also composed some other *prāśastis* which were engraved in the temple referred to in it. He also encouraged learning, as we know from the eulogy of the Sun-god, composed by the *Mahākavi-chakravarti* Chittapa, at the instance of the commander (*daṇḍa-nāyaka*) Śrichandra.¹ From the *Kharataragachchha-bṛihadgurvāvalī* of Jinapāla, we learn that he honoured the Jaina teacher Jinavallabhasūri, for the latter's skill in poetry.²

Naravarman adopted the title of *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa*, and was devoted to the goddess Charchikā, who is said to have made him powerful.³ His religious toleration is evident from the fact that in his reign a pair of Jaina images was set up at Bhōjpur and three Jaina images at Shērgadh.⁴ He was sagacious in sustaining virtue. Every morning he is said to have bestowed upon Brāhmanas some donations and thereby rendering virtue, one-footed as it were, multiplied.⁵ His virtuous conduct also set an example before his subjects; in an inscription from Vidishā he is described as *para-nāri-sahōdara*.⁶ He also encouraged executing public works, as known from the example of one of his generals named Vikrama, who excavated a tank at Amēra in the Vidishā District.⁷

From his queen Mōmaladēvi, Naravarman had a son named Yaśovarman, who succeeded him.

YAŚOVARMAN

c. 1134 to c. 1142 (?) A.C.

The history of this ruler is known from two copper-plate grants and one stone inscription. Both the copper-plate grants were found at Ujjain and are fragmentary. One of them, which is dated V.S. 1192 (c. 1135 A.C.), records the grant of some land by the king himself, in exchange of some other land which had been previously donated on the occasion of the first death anniversary of his mother Mōmaladēvi. The other date for this king is one year before this date, as we find recorded in the grant of his son, Lakshmi-varman, dated V.S. 1200 (c. 1144 A.C.).⁸ The stone inscription⁹ under reference was discovered at Jhālrapāṭan in Rājasthān; it is highly weather-worn and in its body can be read the names of Naravarman and Yaśovarman, though the complete sense of it cannot be made out. It ends with the date V. S. 1199 (c. 1142 A.C.).

The only event which we know of the reign of this king is his struggle with the Chaulūkyas Jayasimha, which was an episode in the prolonged struggle which commenced during the reign of Naravarman, as seen above, but its result was rather more disastrous in the end. The causes of Jayasimha's invasion of Mālwa have been differently stated in the sources. According to Hēmachandra, it was a Yōgini's advice to Jayasimha to go to the holy city of Ujjain to worship Kālikā and the other Yōginis, if he was desirous of acquiring high religious merit; she also impressed upon him the necessity of establishing friendly relations with Yaśovarman in order to obtain permission to enter Mālava. This

1 No. 37, l. 12.

2 *C.p. cit.*, p. 13.

3 No. 36, vv. 1-2; and *ibid.*, 11, 12-13.

4 Nos. 32 and 33, respectively.

5 No. 49, vv. 9-10.

6 No. 36, 11, 13-14.

7 No. 30, l. 21.

8 Nos. 38 and 40, respectively.

9 *P.R.A.S.*, W.C., 1906, p. 56. The record is damaged and the unit figure in the date is not clear. Thus it cannot definitely be assigned to the reign of Yaśovarman. The stone is now not traceable and as no impression too being available, it is not edited here.

enraged Siddharāja and he decided to launch an attack on the Paramāra kingdom.¹ Above, we have seen what Mērutunga relates; viz., that Jayasimha was enraged when in his absence his kingdom was invaded by Yaśovarman; and this account is supported by Sōmēśvara.²

Jayasimha's invasion of Mālava seems to have taken place almost about the time when its eastern frontier was threatened by the ambitious Chandēlla king, Madanavarman, who had already penetrated into the western region of the Bētawā, some time before 1134 A.C., when he issued his Augasī grant, as shown in detail in the history of the Chandēlla dynasty. Yaśovarman was thus hard-pressed, and Jayasimha succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on him, as we are informed by the Gujarāt chroniclers, with some variations in details. For example, Mērutunga tells us that Siddharāja laid siege to the fort of Dhārā and ultimately imprisoned Yaśovarman, whom he led in triumph to Apahilla-paṭṭana. Arisimha relates that Jayasimha imprisoned Yaśovarman, king of Dhārā.³ The same is the statement of Sōmēśvara in his *Kīrtikāumudī*⁴ and *Surat-ōtsava*.⁵ According to Hēmachandra, Jayasimha seized and imprisoned Yaśovarman.⁶ The *Vasantavilāsa* informs us that Jayasimha brought from Ujjain the *Yōgini-Pūṭha*, defeated and imprisoned the lord of Dhārā, like a parrot in a cage.⁷ Thus there is a general agreement among the Jaina chroniclers regarding Siddharāja's complete success over Yaśovarman, who was not only defeated but also captured and the former's supremacy was established over Dhārā, the capital of Mālava. The same event is also narrated in the *Rāsamālā*.⁸

The statement of the Gujarāti chroniclers are corroborated by epigraphic evidence. That Jayasimha achieved substantial success in his expedition against Yaśovarman is shown by the title *Avantinātha* assumed by him in his Gālā grant, dated V.S. 1193 (c. 1136 A.C.).⁹ The same title appears also in his Ujjain stone inscription, dated V.S. 1195 (c. 1138 A.C.), which supplements our information by stating that he placed the Avanti-*maṇḍala* under the charge of one Mahādēva as his Governor at that place. Mahādēva's father Daḍāka of the Nāgara family was the keeper of the seals at Anhilwād.¹⁰ The Dōhad inscription dated V.S. 1196 (c. 1139 A.C.) also states that Jayasimha put the king of Mālava in prison.¹¹ The *Vaḍnagar praśasti* of Kumārāpāla tells us that Jayasimha fettered the proud king of Mālwa;¹² and the Sundhā hill inscription records that Jayasimha gave a golden *kalāśa* as a reward to the Chāhamāna Āśarāja of Nāḍōl for his bravery in the war against the Mālava king.¹³ This implies that Āśarāja helped his Chaulūkyā overlord on this occasion.

1 D.K., Canto XIV, vv. 5 ff.

2 P.C.M., pp. 58 f.; and K.K., II, vv. 30-32.

We have no means to know definitely whether Yaśovarman invaded Gujarāt as a prince during his father Naravarman's reign or after the defeat of the latter ruler at the hands of Jayasimha Siddharāja. However, relying on the statement of Mērutunga that the war between Mālwa and Gujarāt prolonged for 12 years and taking it as ending with the capture of Yaśovarman in 1142 A.C., the date supplied by the Jhālrapātan inscription, Yaśovarman's invasion of Gujarāt may be tentatively placed in about 1130 A.C., when his father was on the throne. This is supported by the account of the *Kumārāpāla-prabandha* (I, v. 41), which says that the war ended when Siddharāja succeeded in entering the fort of Dhārā after his elephant had broken the gate.

3 *Sukritasamkīrtana*, II, v. 34.

4 II, vv. 31-42.

5 *Grantha-praśasti*, V, vv. 31-33.

6 D.K., in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 266.

7 Canto III, vv. 21-23.

8 Forbe's translation, pp. 111 f.

9 J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXV, pp. 322 ff. *I.N.I.* No. 236.

10 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII (1913), p. 258.

11 *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 159, v. 1. *I.N.I.*, No. 245.

12 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 296.

13 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 76, v. 26.

The incorporation of the Paramāra kingdom within that of the Chaulūkyas must have been effected some time subsequent to 25th November, 1135, which is the Christian equivalent of the date of Yaśovarman's inscription, and prior to 22nd April, 1136, the date of the Gālā inscription which first proclaims Jayasimha as lord of Avanti (*Avanti-nātha*). Thus the misfortune, which had its beginning in the time of Naravarman, came to its final phase in that of his son Yaśovarman, and, as we have just seen, it ended in making Jayasimha, the *Sārvabhauma* ruler of Western India.

Some times later, Yaśovarman seems to have obtained his release through the favour of Jayasimha Siddharāja, and also regained a portion of his kingdom over which he ruled, probably as a Chaulūkyā feudatory. He is called a *Mahārāja* in the Jhālrapāṭan inscription, the date of which is read with tolerable certainty as V.S. 1199 (c. 1142 A.C.), Phālguna *sudi*.¹

JAYAVARMAN

c. 1142 to c. 1143 A.C.

Jayavarman was the eldest son² of Yaśovarman, who, as we have just seen was captured by Siddharāja in 1135-36 A.C. The only inscription of this ruler that is so far known is his incomplete Ujjain grant, of which only the first plate is available and the second, in which the date was apparently mentioned, is not forthcoming.³

The period of the reign of this prince is purely conjectural. Its lower limit can no doubt be placed to be some time before 1144 A.C. when his younger brother and immediate successor, Lakshmi-varman, issued his Ujjain grant;⁴ but its upper limit cannot be determined with certainty, for he appears to have begun his political career even before 1142 A.C., the date of the Jhālrapāṭan inscription, as we have seen above. From the identification of the localities mentioned in his Ujjain grant, it would appear that soon after the annexation of the Paramāra kingdom by Jayasimha Siddharāja, this prince (Yaśovarman) fled away to the easternmost part of the territory of his kingdom where, in course of time, he established himself and also made some gifts from his camp at Chandrapuri, which is in the Bhopāl region, and the same gift he reannounced from his camp at Vardhamānapura, which is no other than the modern Badnāwar near Dhār.⁵ This would suggest that taking advantage of the intrigues and dissensions which had then sprung up in the Chaulūkyā court in the later years of Jayasimha, he came out of his eastern retreat and succeeded in re-occupying Dhārā, or at least a portion of his ancestral kingdom,⁶ as is also shown by the titles of a paramount sovereign attached to his name in his grant.

1 *P.R.A.S., W.C.*, 1905-06, p. 56, *I.N.I.*, No. 252. The last number of the date is taken as doubtful by P. Bhatia for which see *P.B.P.* p. 124, n. 1. But in the *P.R.A.S., W.C. Report*, it is said to have been read with tolerable certainty. It is true that "the variation of titles is not a very safe basis to reach at new conclusions", but the possibility in the present case cannot altogether be precluded since the name of Naravarman can also be read in the body of the inscription. Thus Yaśovarman mentioned in it appears to be no other than the Paramāra king.

2 Here I agree with Kielhorn and others, according to whom Jayavarman was the eldest son of his father. Hall's theory that Lakshmi-varman was the eldest of the brothers, cannot be held. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 229.

3 No. 39.

4 No. 40.

5 See the identification of places in No. 39.

6 H.C. Ray holds a different view, for which, see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 886.

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The name of this prince is mentioned as Jayavarman in his own plate and also in two other grants, viz., the Piplānagar grant of the *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandra, dated V.S. 1235-36 and the Bhōpāl grant of the *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman, dated V.S. 1256.¹ But in all the three grants of Arjunavarman, the name Ajayavarman is found.² This has given rise to a keen controversy among scholars as to the problem whether both these names were identical, or they were intended to denote two separate persons who were both sons of Yaśovarman and therefore brothers. Kielhorn held that both these names indicate two separate persons,³ whereas Fleet,⁴ Ganguly⁵ and N.P. Chakravarti⁶ took both these names to have been borne by the same prince. In this connection it has also to be noted that in none of these inscriptions we find both these names, and also that the name Ajayavarman is found only in the three grants of Arjunavarman, which are not only later in time but also that the latter two give the genealogical portion exactly as copied from the first of them. Thus it is evident that the name Jayavarman, which occurs in all the earlier grants, was changed to Ajayavarman, in later records, for metrical exigencies.

Jayavarman's contemporary on the Chālukya throne was Jagadēkamalla II (1138-50), whose victory over Mālwa is referred to in a number of inscriptions.⁷ Jayavarman is known to have ruled for an extremely short time, probably for a few months; and it is, therefore doubtful if all the victories of the Chālukya king which are mentioned in these inscriptions, which do not give the name of the king of Mālwa, can plainly be referred to his reign. The same is the case of some records which eulogise the Hoysala chief Viśṇuvardhana (1128-42 A.C.) and his son Narasimha (1142-73 A.C.), as winning victories over Mālwa.⁸ These records also do not mention the name of the ruler of Mālwa, and thus the victories mentioned in them cannot be connected with the reign of Jayavarman.

BALLĀLA

During this period of confusion we hear of one Ballāla as ruling over Avanti-Mālava from its capital Dhārā. The identity of this prince is uncertain, as we shall presently see. Almost at the same time the Śākambharī Chāhamāna ruler, Arṇorāja (1133-1151 A.C.) declared a war against the Chaulūkyā king Kumārapāla (1143-72 A.C.), the grand-nephew and successor of Jayasimha Siddharāja. Hēmachandra tells us that Arṇa (Arṇorāja) advanced upon the frontiers of Gujarāt, in alliance with Ballāla, the king of Avanti and they simultaneously attacked the country from the front and the rear.⁹ Kumārapāla marched out to meet the Chāhamāna forces and sent his feudatory, Yaśōdhavala, the Paramāra king of Ābū, against Ballāla. In the account of the Paramāras of Ābū, I have shown that Yaśōdhavala fought with Ballāla and slew him in the struggle.¹⁰ He appears to have been slain some time in 1150 or 1151 A.C., the first of these years being that of the Chittor inscription in which the defeat of Arṇorāja alone has been referred to, and the

1 Nos. 38, 45 and 46, respectively.

2 Nos. 47-49.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 347.

4 *ibid.* Vol. XVI, p. 253; *ibid.*, Vol. LXI, p. 213.

5 *H.P.D.*, p. 81.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 229.

7 *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 58, 61 and 158.

8 *E.C.*, Hassan Tāluq, No. 53, pp. 14-15. Here also see *M.T.A.*, p. 363.

9 *Dv.*, Canto XVI, vv. 7-14. Ballāla is mentioned as king of Dhārā in v. 10 of the Verāval inscription of 1169 A.C. (*W.Z.K.M.*, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.); as king of Mālwa by Abhayatilakagṇi in *D.K.*, Canto XIX, v. 13, and in Mt. Ābū inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 211.

10 Hēmachandra, in his *D.K.*, XIX, v. 126, gives the credit of killing Ballāla to some brāhmaṇa soldiers of Kumārapāla's army and the *Vasantavilāsa* (III, 29) refers to Kumārapāla's victory over Ballāla.

second, that of the Vaṇnagar *praśasti*, which states that the head of the lord of Mālava was suspended from the gate of Kumārapāla's palace.¹

The identity of Ballāla is far from certain. Lüders long ago took him as "of unknown lineage"² and C.V. Vaidya identified him with the Paramāra Jayavarman himself.³ But showing some chronological difficulties, Ganguly held that he may have been a scion of the Hoysala dynasty in which this name is very common.⁴ Differing from all these scholars, A.K. Majumdar suggested that Ballāla was perhaps a local chief, or a former feudatory of the Paramāras, who, during the period of confusion, declared himself as the ruler of Dhārā.⁵ But none of these views is definite for want of evidence.

After the death of Ballāla, a portion of Mālwa was annexed by Kumārapāla who assumed the title of *Avantinātha*⁶ and who made it a Chaulūkyā province once again. An inscription at Udaipur (Vidishā District), dated V.S. 1220 (1163 A.C.), tells us that this place was being governed in that year by a *Mahāsāadhanika* Rājyapāla, in the reign of Ku(mārapāla) of Aṇa(hilapāṭaka), the vanquisher of the lord of Śakambhari and Avanti.⁷ Another inscription existing at the same place refers to an officer named Lūnapasāka as governing the town, which was included in the *Bhāillāsvāmi-mahādvaḍaśaka-maṇḍala*, in V.S. 1229 (1171 A.C.).⁸

THE PARAMĀRA MAHĀKUMĀRAS

We have seen above how in the beginning of the fifth decade of the twelfth century A.C. the country of Mālava had once again been incorporated into the Chaulūkyā kingdom, and consequently, the Paramāra princes were compelled to move to the east in the region of Bhopāl, Vidishā and Hoshangābād, where they established themselves. The rulers belonging to this branch assumed the unostentatious title of *Mahākumāra*, and in the inscriptions issued by them they are styled as those who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds (*samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śabd-ālamkāra*). Their relation with the Chaulūkyas of Gujarāt during this period is not known.

The history of this branch of the Paramāras, which extends from 1144 A.C., the earliest known date of Lakshmi-varman, to 1173 A.C., which is the approximate date of Kumārapāla's death, is rather complicated due to the differences in the genealogies given in their inscriptions.⁹ And first of all we give here the succession in the family of Yaśovarman, as conceived by Kielhorn, from the information available in his time.¹⁰

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 423; and *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 29, v. 15, respectively. Lüders suggested that Ballāla must have died before 1169 A.C. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 201). This is not accepted by Ray, for which, see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 990, n. 1.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 202.

3 *Downfall of Hindu India*, Vol. III, p. 173.

4 *H.P.D.*, pp. 172 ff.; also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 192; and Hēmadri's *praśasti*, quoted in *E.H.D.*, p. 242, v. 36.

5 *C.G.*, pp. 454 f.

6 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 343 f.

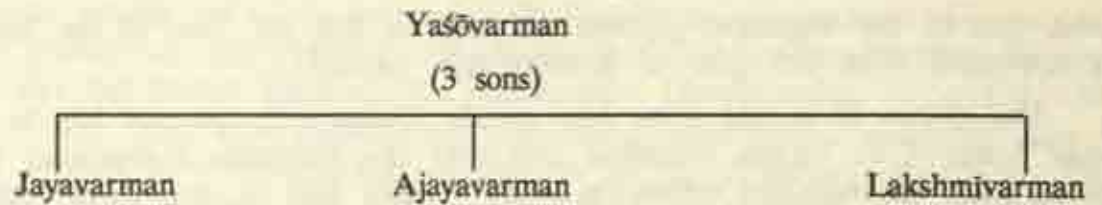
7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*, p. 347.

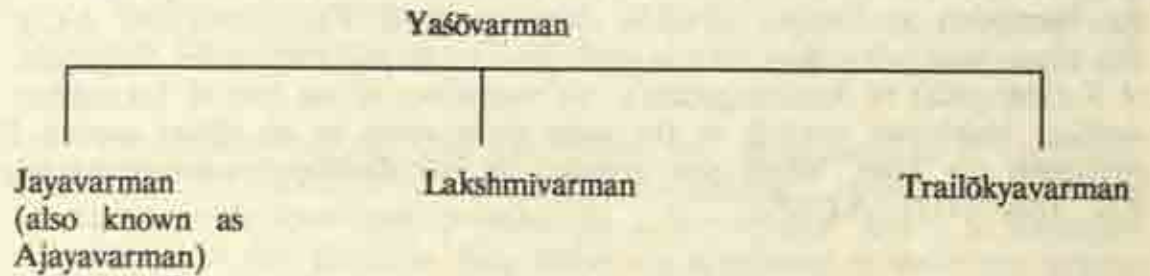
9 For the history of this branch, see *H.P.D.*, pp. 175 ff.; *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 887 ff.; *P.B.P.*, pp. 127 ff.; *M.T.A.*, pp. 364 ff., besides the writings of some other scholars in *Ep. Ind.* and *Ind. Ant.* We may note here that it is not unoften that views of all three scholars are conflicting, and they can only be noted here in brief.

10 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 348. Kielhorn was inclined to suggest that Yaśovarman was in the first instance succeeded by his son Jayavarman, who was soon after dethroned by Ajayavarman; the third brother, Lakshmi-varman, did not submit to Ajayavarman and succeeded in appropriating a portion of Mālwa, which he, his son and grandson *de facto* ruled over as independent chiefs. The theory is highly speculative.

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We have also seen that the names Jayavarman and Ajayavarman do not denote two separate persons as taken by Kielhorn, but they are identical. Since Kielhorn wrote two inscriptions of another member of the family, namely Trailōkyavarman, are known,¹ in view of which, we propose to modify the genealogy as under:-



With these general remarks, we now propose to give the history of the individual princes, allowing every one of them the usual period of reign of 20 years, with some margin for error.

LAKSHMIVARMAN

c. 1143 to c. 1155 A.C.

This prince is the earliest of the family of the Paramāras who call themselves *Mahākumāras* in their inscriptions. One copper-plate grant and one stone inscription of the time of this ruler have so far been discovered.² The copper-plate apparently is the first of the two plates, the second of which is not forthcoming. It was found at Ujjain and is dated V.S. 1200 (1144 A.C.). It records the confirmation, by this prince, of a grant originally made by the P.M.P. Yaśovarman, in V.S. 1191 (1134 A.C.); and the expression occurring in it, namely, "for the merit of his illustrious father (*śrīmat-pitri-śrēy-ōrtham*", in l. 15), undoubtedly shows that he was a son of Yaśovarman. It has been suggested above that after the capture of Yaśovarman, his son Jayavarman seems to have carved out a principality for himself, somewhere on the easternmost border of the Paramāra kingdom, in the Vidishā-Bhopāl region, and also that from this region he came back to Dhārā, where he proclaimed himself as an independent sovereign. It seems that he had to leave his principality which he had newly carved in the Bhopāl region, due to some political situation, which may be considered here. In the history of the Chandēllas of Jējakabhukti, we have seen that the ambitious and one of the most valiant Chandēlla rulers, Madanavarman (c. 1129-63 A.C.), was at that time striving hard to extend his kingdom on the western side of the Bētawā, as we learn from his Augāsi grant issued from his camp near Bhāilasvāmin.³ This place was then included in the *Mahādvādaśaka maṇḍala*, and as noted elsewhere, all the places also, which are mentioned in his grant, lie on the western side of the Bētawā. In view of this consideration, it is not unlikely that it was due to the occupation of this part of the country by the Chandēllas that Jayavarman had then to move to the west, towards Dhārā, which he re-occupied for a

¹ Nos. 42 and 43.

² Nos. 40 and 41, respectively.

³ See No. 118.

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short time; but ultimately he had to lose his life in his struggle against his enemies, the Chaulūkyas. Thus it would also appear that after the fall of Jayavarman, his younger brother Lakshmivarman fought with the Chandēllas who were then advancing on the other side of the Bētwa, and defeating them, he drove them away from the principality which originally belonged to his father Yaśovarman, who made a gift of some places lying in the same *Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala*, and this is why his brother Lakshmivarman had to confirm the same when he re-occupied it.¹

What we have stated above is also suggested by the Bhopāl grant issued in V.S. 1256 (1200 A.C.) by Lakshmivarman's grandson, Udayavarman, recording that "the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Lakshmivarmadēva, had obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the sword which he had taken in his hand, when the rule of the illustrious Jayavarmadēva had passed away".² The statement of the Piplīānagar grant, dated V.S. 1235-36 (1178-79 A.C.), is note worthy namely, that *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Hariśchandrādēva,³ also pays due regard to the last-mentioned prince, though it is silent as to the re-capture of the province that his father had lost; the silence may probably be ascribed to the inadvertence of the person who drafted the grant. Thus we find that in all these records Jayavarman's name is mentioned with due regard, and it is only the grant issued by Lakshmivarman in which his name does not appear, apparently for the simple reason that he was a collateral.

The stone inscription referred to above as belonging to the reign of this prince is engraved on a pillar found at Bhopāl.⁴ The writing on it is not in a fair state of preservation, and the date given in it appears to have been lost; but the title of *Mahākumāra* given to the Paramāra prince in its body conclusively proves that he ruled in the Bhopāl region where the inscribed pillar was found. The inscription states that his (Lakshmivarman's) feudatory Vijayasīrha, who belonged to a family named Adhidrōnachārya, gained victory over his enemy in a battle, S.L. Katare, who edited the inscription, finds it difficult to identify this enemy, though he suggested that he may have been Ballāla who is otherwise known as the ruler of Avanti and Mālwa.⁵ If it is possible to identify this enemy with the Chandēlla ruler Madanavarman, who was expelled by Lakshmivarman from the *Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala*, of course presumably, with the help of his feudatory Vijayasīrha, it lends an additional support to our conclusion, viz., that the former of these princes obtained for himself this principality "by the favour of his sword", as seen above.

HARIŚCHANDRA

c. 1155 to c. 1186 A.C.

Lakshmivarman was succeeded by his son Hariśchandra, for whose reign we have two copper-plate grants, one from Bhopāl, dated V.S. 1214 (1157 A.C.), and the other from Piplīānagar (Shājāpur District), dated V.S. 1235-36 (1178-79 A.C.),⁶ showing him to have occupied the throne for at least for 21-22 years. That the period of his reign has to be extended for at least eight years as shown by a dwarf pillar inscription which was recently found at Hōshaṅgābād and is dated V.S. 1243 (1186 A.C.).⁷

1 This suggestion, which is due to N.P. Chakravarti (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 228), is confirmed by the Mau stone inscription (No. 125).

2 No. 46, ll. 5-6.

3 No. 45, ll. 7-8.

4 The original find-spot is not known but it could not have been brought to Bhopāl from a distant place.

5 *J.M.P.I.P.*, No. 2, p. 7. Lakshmivarman had no hold over the Ujjain region and we also know that Ballāla was killed by the Paramāra king Yaśōdhavala.

6 Nos. 44 and 45, respectively.

7 No. 183.

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The genealogy given in both the copper-plate grants shows some difference, as noted below in tabular form:-

Bhōpāl grant (No. 44)

P.M.P. Naravarman
P.M.P. Yaśovarman
M.K. Trailōkyavarman
M.K. Hariśchandra

Pipliānagar grant (No. 45)

P.M.P. Udayāditya
P.M.P. Naravarman
P.M.P. Yaśovarman
P.M.P. Jayavarman
M.K. Hariśchandra

Comparing both these lists, we see that whereas the former of these grants mentions the name of Trailōkyavarman, by whose favour Hariśchandra is said to have obtained his victorious kingdom (or victory and kingdom, *(vijay-ādhipatya)*), the latter gives this credit to Jayavarman, instead of Trailōkyavarman, whose name is dropped in it. It may also be noted here that the latter of these inscriptions begins with the name of Udayāditya. In this respect, we have to recall the observations of Kielhorn, who has pointed out some instances where predecessors are sometimes omitted in the genealogical lists in Indian inscriptions; and we follow N.P. Chakravarti, who, in the course of his edition of the first of the above-mentioned grants, observes that "inscriptions do not always give a full genealogy of the ruler to whose reign they refer themselves but mention the names of one or two or even none of his predecessors".¹ In this particular case, the motive for mentioning the name of Trailōkyavarman before Hariśchandra in the first of the above-mentioned grants may have been, as also shown by Chakravarti, that probably the latter, who appears to have come to the throne as a minor, took up the reigns of the government from the former, "to whom he was grateful for managing the affairs during his minority."² But when Hariśchandra issued his Pipliānagar grant, twenty one years subsequently, the name of Trailōkyavarman, who then appears to have ceased to be the regent,³ is substituted by that of Jayavarman as the sovereign ruler, or rather as one who had originally carved out the principality enjoyed by his successors.

We have nothing definite to show that Trailōkyavarman ever occupied the throne; and the title of *Mahākumāra* attached to his name in the Bhōpāl grant of Hariśchandra has been rightly interpreted to show that he wielded the full power of a chief during the latter's minority.⁴ The objection which is raised by some scholars, namely, that Hariśchandra does not describe himself as the *tatpādānudhyāta* of Lakshmi-varman,⁵ does not go to show, as far as we think, that both these princes were ruling over separate principalities, nor even that Hariśchandra was adopted by Trailōkyavarman; for in the last line of his Pipliānagar grant, Hariśchandra mentions the name of his father, Lakshmi-varman, which is rather more significant to show the relationship of father and son, rather than the general statement *tatpādānudhyāta*.

There are good grounds to believe that Hariśchandra came into a clash with the Chaulūkyas of Gujarāt. The first of his grants shows that the *Mahādvādasaka-maṇḍala* was a part of his kingdom in 1157 A.C.; but some time later and certainly before 1163 A.C., it was wrested from him by the Chaulūkyā ruler Kumārapāla, whose inscription

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 228.

2 *Ibid.*

3 N.P. Chakravarti observed that Trailōkyavarman was probably dead when Hariśchandra issued his second grant in V.S. 1235-36; but this view cannot now be held in view of the former's inscription, dated V.S. 1216 (1158-59 A.C.), being found after he wrote.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 229.

5 For example, see *P.B.P.*, pp. 132 f. It also appears curious that Lakshmi-varman should have given his only son in adoption, as conjectured by Bhatia. D.C. Ganguly's observation that the son had a different principality than that of his father (*H.P.D.*, p. 184) does not appear to be justified in view of the remarks made above.

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of this year is found at Udaipur, which is stated to have been situated in the same *maṇḍala*.¹ And Hariśchandra, in his turn, appears to have recovered this region some time before 1178 A.C., when he issued his Piplīnagar grant. The object of this record is to mention his donation of two villages in the Nilagiri-*maṇḍala*, which touches the *Mahādvādasaka-maṇḍala* on its southeast; and as the former of these *maṇḍalas* is mentioned for the first time in a grant issued by a prince belonging to the *Mahākumāra* family, this appears to have been his new extension of dominion. It is not however, known whether he was compelled to move further in the direction of this *maṇḍala* owing to the pressure of the Chaulūkyas.

TRAILŌKYAVARMAN

It has been observed above that Trailōkyavarman, who too is known to have belonged to the *Mahākumāra* line, was probably a brother of Lakshmivarman, and appears to have acted as a regent during the minority of Hariśchandra. Two of his inscriptions, both on stone and both fragmentary, have recently come to light. One of them, which is dated V.S. 1216 (1158-59 A.C.), was found at Vidishā and it records the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu, probably by Trailōkyavarman himself, who also laid the tax of a *vimśōpaka* on a bull-load passing by its side, for its maintenance and worship.² The record mentions this prince as a *nṛpati*, which may also be taken as signifying that though a regent, he enjoyed all the powers of a prince; and this supports our conclusion stated above.

The other inscription of this prince does not bear any date, but it shows the title of *Mahākumāra* attached to the name of this prince. It records the donation of a village for conducting the worship of a deity at Harshapura, modern Harsūd in the East Nēmāḍ District.³ In neither of these records, however, we have any definite evidence to show that Trailōkyavarman ever occupied the throne.

UDAYAVARMAN

c. 1186 to c. 1215 A.C.

This prince appears to have commenced his reign about 1190 A.C., or even a little earlier, but certainly after 1186 A.C. which is the latest known year of his father Hariśchandra. The lower limit of his reign is highly speculative.

The only known inscription of the reign of this king is a copper-plate charter, issued by him in V.S. 1256 (1200 A.C.) and recording his donation of the village Guṇaurā in the Vindhya-*maṇḍala* on the auspicious day of *Mahāvaiśākhi*.⁴ In its genealogical portion the record tells us that this prince was the son of the *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandra; but the omission of the same title before the name of the donor himself, which may have been due to the inadvertence of the composer of the record, need not necessarily lead us to hold with D.C. Ganguly that this ruler succeeded "to the throne of Lakshmivarman without the intervention of Hariśchandra," who was his father.⁵ In fact, in the genealogical portion of this grant we find a long expression full of compounds; and it is doubtful whether the title *Mahākumāra* appearing first before the name of Hariśchandra should be construed with his own name or with that of his son which follows in the same expression.

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII pp. 341 ff.

2 No. 42.

3 No. 43.

4 No. 46.

5 *H.P.D.*, p. 180.

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No political event of the reign of Udayavarman is so far known. We have two inscriptions from Bhōpāl, dated respectively in V.S. 1241 (1184 A.C.) and Śaka year 1108 (1186 A.C.), and both of them referring to a ruler named Udayāditya. If the reading of the date in both of them is certain, they are to be taken as probably referring to Udayavarman, since no ruler of the name of Udayāditya is so far known to have ruled in the Bhōpāl region during this period.¹ Or, it may appear that this prince was also known as Udayāditya, for which we have no confirmatory evidence.

VINDHYAVARMAN

c. 1187 to c. 1194 A.C.

We have no inscription for the reign of this king, nor any evidence to fix the year of his accession; and the period of his reign is also speculative. The inscriptions of the Paramāra *Mahākumāras* range from V.S. 1200 (1144 A.C.) to V.S. 1256 (1200 A.C.), which is roughly a period of fifty-five years, during which, none of the princes is known to have made an attempt to revive the fallen fortune of the family. With the death of the Chaulūkyā monarch Kumārapāla in 1173 A.C., the gradual process of decline in his kingdom had set in and it continued during the time of his weak successors, viz., his son Ajayapāla (1173-76 A.C.), his son Mūlarāja II (1176-78 A.C.) and the latter's younger brother Bhimadēva (1178-1241 A.C.). This period not only created internal dissensions in the Chaulūkyā kingdom but also made it exposed to constant hostile incursions from outside; and naturally the control of the Chaulūkyā throne over Mālava had also become loose. In this period of confusion, a heroic effort was made by Vindhyavarman, the valiant son of Jayavarman, to avenge the defeat of his father at the hands of the Chaulūkyas. The early history of this prince is not known, but we find him successful in retrieving the lost dominions of his ancestors. The Piplīānagar grant of Arjunavarman and the Māndhātā grant of Dēvapāla probably contain an allusion to his exploits against the Chaulūkyas, by representing him as eager to extirpate the Gūrjaras and they also add that this king, who was skilled in war, rescued Dhārā by his strong sword.²

The epigraphic evidence is not only borne out but also supplemented by literary tradition. The *Kharataragachchha-bṛihadgurvāvalī*, for example, says that the Chaulūkyā forces led by their general, Jagaddēva Pratihāra, were operating in Mālava in 1186 A.C. and the *Surat-Ōtsva* on the other hand, reversely records Vindhyavarman's defeat at the hands of the Chaulūkyā general Kumāra.⁴ But in spite of all these reverses, if they are taken to refer to the battle of Vindhyavarman against the Chaulūkyas, the Paramāra prince emerged victorious, since he is mentioned as the king of Avanti, Dhārā and Mālava, by his court-poet Sulhapa, who wrote his commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara* in V.S. 1246

1 Referred to by F.E. Hall in *J.A.O.S.*, Vol. VII, p. 35. About the date of the first of these records, Hall himself is doubtful, but about that of the second, which is in verse, there can be no doubt. We quote it here from Hall's reading:-

Bhūpālē bhūmi-pālō = 'yam = Udayāditya-pārthivah

Tēn = ēdam nirmītaṁ sthānam vasu-pūrn-ēśvarē śakē

The equivalent Christian date of Śaka 1108 would be 1185 A.C., falling not in the reign of Udayāditya but of Udayavarman; and the discrepancy may be reconciled only if we assume that Udayavarman was also known as Udayāditya, and if so, he may have come to the throne before this date. Hall informs us that the inscription was found in the *Bijā-mandira* at Bhōpāl, but this temple is at Vidishā and not at Bhōpāl.

2 No. 47, v. 12; and Nos. 48 and 51, which copied the genealogical portion of this record.

3 pp. 8 and 34.

4 Canto XV, vv. 36-37. This may have been Vindhyavarman's initial attempt, but in the end, he was successful.

(1190 A.C.)¹. We also learn from the Jaina teacher Āśādhara that he migrated to Mālava in the reign of Vindhyavarman, from the country of Sapādalaksha which was then subjugated by the Turks in V.S. 1249 (1192 A.C.)². All these references go to show that Vindhyavarman after all succeeded in liberating a great part of his ancestral dominion, some time before 1190 A.C., when Sulhaṇa wrote his commentary, as referred to above.

The name of the Chaulūkyā monarch from whom the Paramāra ruler wrested the empire is not given in any of the sources; and according to D.C. Ganguly, he was Mūlarāja II.³ But as Mūlarāja's reign terminated in 1178 A.C., this king, as correctly shown by Pratīpal Bhatia,⁴ appears to be no other than his successor Bhīma II, who was on the Chaulūkyā throne in 1187 A.C. when the country of Mālava reassumed independence.

Vindhyavarman, however, could not have reigned in peace as he had to measure his sword with the equally ambitious Yādava king of Dēvagiri, Bhīllama V (c. 1185-1192 A.C.), who had by that time not only made himself master of the extensive territories of the effete Chālukyā kingdom but also had assumed the epithets and titles of a paramount sovereign. An inscription found at Mutgi in the Bijāpur District and dated in 1189 A.C. mentions Bhīllama as "a wrestler against the Mālavas," and further below, as "a severe pain in their head".⁵ The silence of the Paramāra records on this point may be taken to indicate that Vindhyavarman had to suffer reverses at the hands of the Yādava ruler. He also struggled with Ballāla, who defeated him, as we know from some of the Hoysala records.⁶

Vindhyavarman's Minister for Peace and War (*Sāndhivigrahika*) was Bilhaṇa who composed the inscription found at Māṇḍū.⁷ He was a friend of Āśādhara. The court-poet of this king was Sulhaṇa, as we have already seen above.

The lower limit of the reign of this king is not definitely known. He was succeeded by his son Subhaṭavarman, some time towards the close of the twelfth century.

SUBHAṬAVARMAN

c. 1194 to c. 1209 A.C.

We have no inscription of the reign of this king, who was also known as Śrībhāṭa and Sōhāḍa.

Subhaṭavarman had inherited the warlike spirit of his father, and the deteriorating condition of Gujarāt gave him an opportunity to invade the country. In his campaign he appears to have first marched against Lāṭa, where he despoiled the city of Ḍabhoi of its wealth, not sparing even the golden cupolas of its temples, as we are informed by the literary sources.⁸ He also compelled its ruler Simha, who was a feudatory of the Chaulūkyā ruler Bhīma, to transfer his allegiance to him.⁹

Just after this significant victory, Subhaṭavarman penetrated into Gujarāt, which he ravaged and plundered its riches. His success in this region is attested to by the records of his successors, Arjunavarman and Dēvapāla, which state that "the fire prowess of this conqueror (Subhaṭavarman), like the fiery rays of the Sun, which exercised its thundering

1 For this and for some other references from Sulhaṇa, see *P.B.P.*, p. 137, foot-notes 3-5.

2 *Sāgaradharmāmṛita*, p. 1.

3 *H.P.D.* pp. 189.

4 See *P.B.P.*, p. 138.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 35, v. 9. For the other references, see *P.B.P.* pp. 138 f.

6 For example, see *E.C.*, Vol. VI, kd. Nos. 127, 156; and *Ak.*, No. 40.

7 No. 185, v. 19.

8 *Sukṛitasamkīrtana*, Canto IX, v. 33; *Suhṛitkīrtikallōlinī*, p. 16; *Vasantavillāsa*, Canto V, v. 4.

9 *H.M.M.*, p. 7; *H.P.D.*, p. 197.

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rage in the *pattana* of blustering Gūjaras (*Garjjad-Gūjara-pattanē*), is witnessed to the present day in the forest conflagration that still prevails in the country.¹ This statement is corroborated by Mērutuṅga.²

Subhaṭavarman's success in Gujarāt, however, appears to have been only temporary, for his progress in the country was checked by the united efforts of the Chaulūkyas generals Lavaṇaprasāda and Śrīdhara. From the Vērāval inscription dated V.S. 1273 (1216 A.C.), we learn that "by his (Śrīdhara's) counsel Bhima again made the country stable that had been shaken by the warlike elephants of Mālava and protected Dēvapattana by his power".³ This statement clearly indicates that the Paramāra ruler could not make any territorial extension in his ravages.

About the same time Subhaṭavarman had also to enter into a contest with his southern neighbour, the Yādava Jaitugi (1192-1207 A.C.), who was extending his sphere of influence in the north. An undated inscription from Managoli in the Bijāpur District, which has been assigned to about 1200 A.C., states that his general Sahadēva vanquished his opponents in the neighbourhood, and adds that he was an Indra (Vajradhara) to the mountain-like army-leader of Mālava.⁴ The inscription is silent as to the name of the leader of Mālava army, but he appears to be no other than Subhaṭavarman who was then on the throne. The success of the Yādavas appears to be only of the nature of a raid.

Subhaṭavarman was not only a brave warrior but also a patron of scholars. Paṇḍita Āśadhara composed some of his works during his reign, as seen in the section on literature, below. Sulhaṇa was his court-poet.

ARJUNAVARMAN

c. 1210 to 1215 A.C.

Arjunavarman was the son and successor of Subhaṭavarman. We have three inscriptions of his reign, dated respectively, in V.S. 1267, 1270 and 1272, corresponding to 1211, 1213 and 1215 A.C. They were all found in the Bhōpāl region. According to them, this king had the *biruda* of *trividhavīra*,⁵ which apparently is to be taken to signify *his being the dharma-, dāna-, and yudha-vīra*.

One of the grants mentioned above and dated V.S. 1270 was issued by the king from his camp in Bhṛigukachchha, which was then the capital of Lāṭa.⁶ Thus it is evident that this country was incorporated into the kingdom of Mālava, sometime before its date.

Arjunavarman continued the traditional war with the Chaulūkyas of Gujarāt. We are told in his inscriptions that when he put Jayasīṃha to flight even in child's play, "his fame spread in the quarters in the guise of the laughter of the (eight) Dīkpālas".⁷ This account is corroborated by the drama *Pārijātamañjarī* of his court-poet Madana, which records that this ruler vanquished the *Chaulūkyamahī-mahēndra* Jayasīṃha and captured Jayaśrī,⁸ meaning both victory and the daughter of the king of Gujarāt. Merutuṅga calls him the destroyer of Gujarāt and records that he completely overran this kingdom.⁹

1 No. 47, v. 15.

2 P.C.M., pp. 97 f.

3 Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 437 ff. I.N.I., No. 467.

4 Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 31.

5 Nos. 47-49.

6 No. 48.

7 See No. 47, v. 17.

8 Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 103.

9 P.C.M., p. 97.

That Jayasimha is identical with Bhima II was first suggested by Hall¹ and accepted by Hultzsch, for the reason that the latter of these rulers was also called 'the new Siddharāja like his predecessor Jayasimha'.² H.C. Ray, however, observed that it is more likely that this ruler was Jayantasimha, also called Jayasimha, who, during the period 1218-26 A.C. ousted Bhima II for a short time and temporarily usurped his throne (c. 1223 A.C.).³ Jayasimha was defeated and a treaty seems to have been concluded between the two kings by which he gave his daughter Jayaśrī, also known as Vijayaśrī, in marriage to Arjunavarman. This event took place before 1211 A.C. when the Piplianagar grant describing it was issued.

Like two of his predecessors, Arjunavarman also entered into a contest with his southern neighbour, Siṃhaṇa (c. 1210-47 A.C.), the Yādava king who was his contemporary. He was the greatest and the most powerful of the Yādava monarchs and probably out of imperial designs was carrying his victorious arms into the territories in the north. In his march against Gujarat, he fell upon the province of Lāṭa, which was then a part of the Mālava kingdom, as we have already observed; and it is possible to hold that at this time Arjunavarman extended his help to the Lāṭa chief Saṅgrāmasimha *alias* Simha. In the struggle that ensued, Arjunavarman received substantial help from his feudatory Sallakṣhaṇasimha of the Chāhamāna dynasty. The Mādhātā grant of the time of Jayasimha-Jayavarman II, dated V.S. 1331, makes a bold claim on behalf of Sallakṣhaṇasimha that he led the Paramāra forces on this occasion, and as we further learn, he defeated the army of Simhaṇadēva, no doubt the Yādava king of that name, pulled its leader Sāgararāṇaka down from his horse and captured the seven *chowries*, an achievement which pleased both Simha and Arjuna.⁴ But soon after, Simhaṇa appears to have launched another attack on Lāṭa, in which the victory was secured by his forces and the Yādava flag was planted on the ramparts of Broach.⁵ It is perhaps this struggle in which Arjunavarman was signally defeated and lost his life. The Bahāl (Khandesh) inscription of the time of Simhaṇa, dated Śaka 1144 (1222-23 A.C.)⁶ and the Paithan (Hyderabad) grant of Rāmachandra, dated Śaka 1193 (1272 A.C.)⁷ record only the defeat of Arjuna, but the Mamdāpur (Belgām District) inscription dated in Śaka 1173 (1251 A.C.) represents him as "an axe for the forest which was Arjuna (*Arjuna-vana-parasū*)".⁸ This evidence is corroborated by Hēmadri, who explicitly states that king Arjuna was killed by Simhaṇa.⁹

All the three grants issued by Arjunavarman speak highly of his personal achievements. They inform us that being "a treasure-house of the stores of poetry and song, he now has relieved the goddess (Sarasvatī) of the burden of her books and lyre".¹⁰ This claim is corroborated by the king's commentary on the *Amaruśataka*, as I have shown in the section on Literature. Arjunavarman was not only a scholar and a poet of high rank but also a patron of literary persons. His spiritual preceptor (*upādhyāya*) was Madana, who bore the titles of *Bālasarasvatī* and *Mahākavi*,¹¹ he was the author of *Pārijātamañjarī* and also of the three grants mentioned above. Another scholar of Arjunavarman's court was the Jaina Paṇḍita Āśadhara, the preceptor of Madana.¹² *Mahāpaṇḍita*

1 J.A.O.S. Vol. VII, pp. 39-40, No. 23.

2 Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 99.

3 D.H.N.I., Vol. II, pp. 899 and 1023.

4 No. 60, v. 60.

5 A.S.W.I., Vol. III, pp. 85 ff.

6 Ep. Ant., Vol. III, p. 110.

7 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 314 ff.

8 Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 19 ff.

9 Hēmadri's *prastāvi*, quoted in E.H.D., p. 243, v. 43.

10 Nos. 47-49, v. 18.

11 *Sāgaradharmamṛta*, Introduction, pp. 3-4.

12 According to the *Pārijātamañjarī*, Nārāyaṇa was his *amātya*. See Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 103.

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Bilhapa, who is referred to as *Mahākavi* in Jaina tradition,¹ served this king as his Minister for Peace and War. All these instances go to show, as rightly observed by H.C. Ray, that this king "to some extent succeeded in reviving the glory of the days of Muñja and Bhōja".² In his *Rasikasanjīvanī* he introduces himself as "the lamp of the family of Bhōja" (*Bhōja-kula-pradīpa*). According to the *Pārijātamañjarī*, his queen was Sarvakalā, the daughter of the Kuntala king.

Arjunavarman's reign came to an end some time after 1218 A.C., the year of his last known grant, and he was succeeded by Dēvapāla, whose relationship with him will be discussed below.

DĒVAPĀLA

c. 1218 to c. 1235 A.C.

For the reign of this king we have three stone inscriptions and one copper-plate grant, besides references in some later records. Of the stone inscriptions, one is dated V.S. 1275 (1218 A.C.) and was discovered at Harsaudā (Harsūd in the East Nemād District); and the rest two which are dated in V.S. 1286 and 128(9), respectively corresponding to 1229 and 123(2) A.C., are engraved on the eastern doorway of the celebrated temple at Udaipur in the Vidishā District.³ The copper-plates which bear the royal charter issued by Dēvapāla himself in V.S. 1282 (1225 A.C.), were found at Māndhātā in the East Nemād District.⁴ All these records range in dates from 1218 to 123(2) A.C.

The Māndhātā grant mentions this ruler as the son of (the *Mahākumāra*) Hariśchandra, whose account we have given above in its proper place; but how he was related to his predecessor Arjunavarman is nowhere mentioned, though it can be inferred. The Māndhātā grant of V.S. 1331 ~ 1274 A.C.) mentions Dēvapāla's son, Jayasimha-Jayavarman II, as Arjunavarman's son's son (*pauṭra*) and also his daughter's son (*dauhitra*);⁵ and the only way in which we can reconcile these conflicting statements is that Dēvapāla may have been adopted by Arjunavarman, who had probably no male issue, and the latter may have also given him his daughter in marriage.⁶ Perhaps he was given in adoption in the time of Udayavarman, who was his elder brother. And later, as Udayavarman died without a son, Dēvapāla succeeded to both his brother's and his adoptive father's throne, as he is well known to have united the kingdom of the *Mahākumāra* line with that of the main line.⁷ In the Harsūd inscription of the time of Dēvapāla we find the use of the subordinate titles of the *Mahākumāras* used for him, along with those which signify sovereign status;⁸ and it appears that even after assuming independence he retained the use of the subordinate title, like the Śuṅga emperor Pushyamitra. We have also to

1 See Āśadhara, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

2 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 899 f.

3 Respectively, Nos. 50, 52-53.

4 No. 51.

5 No. 60, v. 52.

6 This is actually stated in the verse itself rather not in the statement of D.C. Sircar as P. Bhatia holds it and remarks that Sircar's statement is incorrect. See *P.B.P.*, p. 156. What we have suggested is the only way in which we can reconcile the available evidence; and there is no difficulty in this explanation, except that of the *sagotra* marriage, which, however, may have been allowed by the custom of those days. Bhatia, of course, appears to be justified in suggesting from the verse referred to above, that Jayavarman's grandmother, who was Arjunavarman's wife came from the lunar race, but not necessarily connected with any Yādava prince of Dēvagiri, as she is also inclined to think, for in that case the hostilities between the two kingdoms, which continued even subsequently, should have immediately ceased.

7 Also see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 902, where it is held that the line of the *Mahākumāras* may have ousted their relatives of the main branch by violence. There is hardly any evidence for the presumption.

8 No. 50.

bear in mind that this record is private. In his later grants, of course, he discarded the subordinate titles.

The southern flank of Dēvapāla's kingdom was threatened by the Yādavas who were the avowed enemies of the Paramāras. We have seen above that Siṅghaṇa killed Simha, the ruler of Lāṭa; and it is possible that after the death of Simha and Arjunavarman, Dēvapāla continued the struggle with the Yādavas. It also appears that after some fight a treaty was concluded between both the rival parties as actually indicated by the specimen of a treaty given in the *Lekhapañchāśikā*.¹ From the conditions laid down in the treaty, it was settled that neither of the parties was to enter the other's jurisdiction.

This treaty between the two great rivals seems to have been concluded in view of entering of both into an alliance of attacking Gujarat, simultaneously. The *Hamnūramadamardana* tells us that dissension between both these parties was brought about by Viradhavala, the Vāghelā chieftain of Dhōlkā.²

In the latter part of his reign Dēvapāla had to encounter a more formidable foe in the form of the Muslims, who, by this time, had penetrated into the interior of the country. After his great success in his battles against Prithvirāja III of Delhi and Jaichand of Kanauj, alongwith the capture of Gwālior, the Muslim Sultān Iltutmish, suddenly sacked Vidishā, where he demolished the fort and the temple of Bhīllasvāmin, in 1233 A.C. Dēvapāla, who was unprepared, for successful resistance could not stem the tide of the invasion; and subsequent to their ravages in the city, the Muslim forces proceeded to Ujjain where they destroyed the celebrated temple of Mahākālā.³ Iltutmish also appointed a Governor at Vidishā. But the Muslim occupation of this place lasted only for a temporary period, as informed by the Māndhātā inscription of V.S. 1331 (1274 A.C.), Dēvapāla killed an *adhipa* of the *Mlēcchhas* who appears to have been no other than the Muslim Governor placed at that place after it was captured by Iltutmish. The battle was fought near the city of Bhīllasvāmin, i.e., Vidishā.⁴ That Dēvapāla really recaptured the place is also known from an inscription of his son Jayasimha, found there and engraved in V.S. 1320 (1263 A.C.).

In the last days of Dēvapāla's career, the Muslims constituted the greatest menace in Rājasthān, and were steadily advancing and causing devastation in this part of the country. Iltutmish appeared in Rānthambōr and captured it in 1226 A.C. Vāgbhaṭa, the uncle of its Chāhamāna ruler Viranārāyaṇa, came to Mālava and sought refuge there. But according to the *Hamnūra-Mahākāvya*, he put Dēvapāla to death when he came to know that the latter was conspiring in a plot to kill him at the instigation of the Sultān of Delhi, and made himself the master of Mālwa.⁵ This statement is corroborated by the *Prabandhakōśa*, which, in the genealogical portion given at the end, mentions Vāgbhaṭa as the conqueror of Mālava; but we have no epigraphic evidence in support of this statement.

The Jaina writer Āśadhara says that he composed the *Trishashṭismṛiti-Sūtra* in V.S. 1292 (1235 A.C.), during the reign of Jaitugi;⁶ and accordingly we may place the termination of Dēvapāla's reign in 1234-35 A.C., keeping in view his latest known date which is 1232 A.C., as seen above.

1 G.O.S., No. 19, p. 52. The relevant portion is quoted in E.H.D., p. 191, n. 26.

2 H.M.M., Act II, pp. 11 f.; Introduction, pp. vii f. Also see H.P.D., pp. 216 ff. H.C. Ray doubts the correctness of the story. See D.H.N.I., Vol. II, p. 902.

3 T.N., p. 622.

4 No. 60, v. 48.

5 H.M.K., Canto IV, vv. 107-23. D.C. Ganguly is inclined to hold that the Mālava ruler killed by Vāgbhaṭa was Jayavarman II. See H.P.D., p. 226.

6 Jain-praśasti-saṅgraha by Parmanand Jain, Delhi (1963).

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Dēvapāla's favourite goddess was Limbāryā, due to whose grace he ascribes his accession.¹ This deity was probably the same as Limbajā, mentioned in the *Prabhāvakacharita* (vv. 151 f.) as the family goddess (*gōtrajā dēvī*) of his predecessor Bhōjadēva. Here it is also interesting to note that the name of this deity survives even to this day in its corrupt form *Limbaḍi-mātā*, enshrined in a modern temple at Dhār.

The activity of building temples continued in the time of this ruler, as we know from the Harsūd inscription which records the construction of a temple in honour of Śiva, in the vicinity of which some other deities also were enshrined on the bank of a lake excavated there.

We have some glimpses of the administration under Dēvapāla. Bilhaṇa continued as his Minister of Peace and War, and Madana as the royal preceptor. His Mādhātā grant was composed by the latter under the guidance of the former.² Salakhana, in his *Nēmināthachariu*, mentions Nāgadēva as a Customs and Excise officer under the king.³ In an inscription from Udaipur, Dhāmadēva (or Vāmadēva ?) is mentioned as the keeper of seals (*śrīkaruṇa-vyāpāra*).⁴

The Jaina scholar Āśādhara continued his literary activities in his reign, as can be seen below in the section on Literature. It is, however, worth noting here that in his *Jinayajñakalpa*, written in V.S. 1285 (1228 A.C.), he gives *Sāhasamalla* as another name or a *biruda* of Dēvapāla.⁵

The town of Dēpālpur near Indore appears to be associated with his name.

JAITUGI

c. 1235 to c. 1255 A.C.

Dēvapāla was succeeded by his son Jaitugi in about 1235 A.C. The lower limit of his reign is flexible and has been conjectured on the basis of the year of his successor Jayavarman whose earliest known date is 1256 A.C. We have no inscription of the time of Jaitugi, but from the other sources we have two dates for him, V.S. 1292 (1135 A.C.) and V.S. 1300 (1243 A.C.).⁶ He assumed the title of *Bālanārāyaṇa*.⁷

From Jaitugi's time the Paramāra kingdom began to deteriorate till it finally collapsed. During his reign it was invaded by enemies from all quarters. Jaitugi had no foresight to make provision for the defence of his realm against the coming danger, particularly when Mālavā had been ravaged by Itutmish in his father's time. In about 1250 A.C. the kingdom was successfully raided by the Yādava ruler Kṛishṇa (1247-261 A.C.), who was then following the imperial policy of his father Siṃghaṇa, by expanding his dominions. His raid, however, was only of a plundering nature, and it is not certain whether he succeeded in acquiring any territory. His success is only vaguely alluded to in his Mamdāpur, Munōli and Arjunavād inscriptions, all found in the Belgām District. They represent him as a *trinētra*, the three-eyed Śiva, to Madana (Kāmadēva) who was the king of Mālavā (Jaitugi), meaning thereby that Kṛishṇa destroyed the power of the king of Mālavā as the god Śiva reduced Madana, the god of love, to ashes.⁸ The

1 No. 50, l. 6.

2 No. 51, ll. 79-80.

3 Parmanand Jaina, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

4 No. 52, l. 7.

5 *Jaina-praśasti-saṃgraha*, p. 39, n. 5.

6 R.G. Bhandarkar's *Report on Manuscripts*, 1883-84, pp. 105 and 392.

7 See No. 57, v. 22.

8 For example, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 23, l. 19; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 38-39, etc.

Purushōttama Puri plates also refer to Kṛishṇa's victory over the kings of Gujarāt, Mālavā Chōla and Kōsala.¹

About the same time the Paramāra kingdom was invaded by the Muslims also. Nāsir-ud-dīn Balban, the general of Iltutmish, fell upon Mālwā, in 1250 A.C., and carried on his successful raid over this territory, though he failed to establish his permanent authority over any part of it.² Almost about the same time, Jaitugi had also to face an invasion of his western neighbour, the Vāghelā Visaladēva of Gujarāt (c. 1245-1261 A.C.), who sacked the city of Dhārā, as we learn from his inscriptions at Dabhōi and Kaḍi.³ All these invasions, none of which appears to have resulted in any substantial gain to the enemies, must have at least caused a great drain on the military resources of Mālwā, which hastened its downfall.

JAYASIMHA-JAYAVARMAN II

c. 1255 to 1275 A.C.

Jaitugi was succeeded by his younger brother (*anuja*) Jayavarman, who was also known as Jayasimha, as we shall presently see. Five stone inscriptions and two copper-plate grants of the time of this king have so far been discovered. The stone inscriptions come from Rāhatgaḍh (Sāgar Dist.), Paṭhārī and Vidishā (both in Vidishā Dist.), Mōḍi (Mandsaur Dist.), all in the northwest of the kingdom, and Atrū in the north. Both the sets of copper-plates were found at Goḍarpur, a small village near Māndhātā in the East Nimād District. The find-spots of the inscriptions indicate the extent of the Paramāra kingdom even in the time of its degeneration. All these records range in dates from V.S. 1312 (1256 A.C.) to V.S. 1331 (1274 A.C.).⁴

Whether Jayavarman mentioned in the inscriptions from Rāhatgaḍh, Mōḍi and Māndhātā is identical with Jayasimha of the records found at Atrū, Vidishā and Paṭhārī was a subject of keen controversy for long among scholars. D.R. Bhandarkar was the first to suggest that both these names were borne by the same ruler, whereas D.C. Ganguly considered Jayavarman to have been different from Jayasimha.⁵ But from the Māndhātā inscription of V.S. 1331, which mentions both these names for the same ruler, it is now perfectly clear, as pointed out by D.C. Sircar who edited the record that the ruler mentioned by both these names is identical.⁶

Jayavarman had to sustain reverses at the hands of the Yādavas who were his southern neighbours and bitterly hostile to the Paramāras. Jayavarman's contemporaries on the Yādava throne were Mahādēva (1260-70 A.C.) and his son Rāmachandra (1270-1309 A.C.), both of whom are known to have invaded his kingdom. The Saṅgūr inscription dated Śaka 1186 (1265 A.C.) represents Mahādēva as a *trinētra* (three-eyed god Śiva) to Madana in the form of the Mālavā king.⁷ Hēmādri's *Rajaprasasti* asserts that the ruler of Mālavā was so much frightened by Mahādēva that he put a child on his throne and retired to practise austerities when he came to know that he did not use his sword

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 204.

2. *T.N.*, I, pp. 690 f.

3. See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 28; and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 212, respectively, also see C.G., pp. 173 f.

4. Nos. 54-60. To these we may add *I.N.I.*, No. 550, which is dated V. 1311. The stone is now lost. In *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 965, H.C. Ray took the Atrū inscription as belonging to the reign of the Chaulukya Jayasimha; also cf. my remarks in editing the same.

5. See D.R. Bhandarkar's remarks on No. 552 of his *List*, and *H.P.D.*, p. 227, for the respective views. Also see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 905 n. 2, suggesting the identity of both these rulers.

6. The name Jayavarman appears in vv. 50 and 56 as well as in l. 87 and v. 72; whereas he is called Jayasimha in vv. 51-52.

7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 194, ll. 22 f.



against a child or woman.¹ But since Jayavarman continued to be on the throne even after Mahādēva closed his reign in 1270 A.C., I agree with P. Bhatia who has suggested that this was only a diplomatic gesture.² The struggle initiated by Mahādēva was continued by his son Rāmachandra. His Thānā grant dated Śaka 1194 (1272 A.C.) claims for him a victory over the Mālavās.³ The reference is clearly to his success against Jayavarman, who was his contemporary. However, on the other hand, the Māndhātā grant, referred to above, records that Jayavarman won success over the *Dākshinātya* king of the south of the Vindhya.⁴ These conflicting statements may perhaps be reconciled if we hold that either of the parties achieved some preliminary success in its offensive but was finally vanquished by the other, or it was only a boundary skirmish; but for want of a corroborative evidence neither of these views can be finalised. The Rāhargadh stone inscription dated V.S. 1312 (1256 A.C.), which is the first Paramāra record in the western part of the Sagar District, may however lend colour to the view that Jayavarman captured this region from the Yādavas who held it from the time of Simhapa. On the evidence of the Puluṅja stone inscription which seems to be dated in 1200 A.C., it has been conjectured that this Yādava king was powerful in this region and to him the Kalachuri king Vijayasimha (1188-1210 A.C.), who apparently held this territory, seems to have submitted.⁵

Jayavarman also came into a hostile contact with the Chāhamānas of Raṇathambhōr, whose kingdom stretched on the northern flank of his empire. The Chāhamāna king Jaitrasimha appears to have raided some of northern territories of Mālavā; and Jayavarman, who was unable to stem the tide of the advancing enemy, retired to Māndū. We are informed by the Balvan inscription of Hammira, dated V.S. 1345 (1288 A.C.), that Jaitrasimha (the Chāhamāna king) "acting as a new Sun, scorched Jaitrasimha (i.e. Jayasimha-Jayavarman) even when the latter was seated in the fort of Maṇḍapa, i.e., Māndū." The same inscription further records that "the Chāhamāna ruler captured at Jhampaighaṭṭa hundreds of the soldiers of the ruler of Mālavā, who were thereafter thrown into prison at Raṇastambhapura."⁶

From his inscriptions we have some glimpses of administration under Jayasimha-Jayavarman. His Chief Minister (*Mahāpradhāna*) was Ajayadēva, who communicated the order of his donations mentioned in the Māndhātā grant of V.S. 1317. This inscription also says that his Minister for Peace and War was Mālādhara.⁷ The Mōḍi inscription mentions another Chief Minister under the king; but the letters showing his name are partly broken, and perhaps they may be read as Chāduri.⁸ Comparing the dates of both these records, this Chief Minister appears to have been a predecessor of Ajayadēva. His army-leader (*Sādhanika*), according to his Māndhātā grant of V.S. 1331, was Anayasimha, belonging to the Chāhamāna dynasty and the son of Salakhaṇasimha, who held this office, under Arjunavarman and vanquished Simhapa's forces, as seen above. Anayasimha was also a beneficent person; he built temples, excavated a pond at Māndū and established *Brahmapuris* at this place and also at Māndhātā.⁹ One of the members of the royal

1 *E.H.D.*, p. 246, v. 15.

2 *P.B.P.*, p. 157.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 202-03.

4 No. 60, v. 54.

5 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. cvii.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 49 f., vv. 7 and 9. Jhampaighaṭṭa has rightly been identified by D. Sharma with the modern Jhapait-ghāt on the Chambal, about 15 kms. due south of the railway station of Lākheri in the Kōṭa District. See *E.C.D.*, p. 105, n. 20.

7 No. 57, ll. 53 and 50, respectively.

8 No. 56, l. 40.

9 No. 60, vv. 62-66.

INTRODUCTION

assembly is known to have been Śrīkaṇṭha, who was appointed by the king himself and who was the composer of the Māndhātā grant, referred to above.¹

Jayavarman was a patron of learned persons and poets as we know from the example of Nārāyaṇa who was a *Mahākavi-chakravartin* and *Thakkura*, in whose favour the grant mentioned in the Atrū inscription was made.²

The last date we have assigned to Jayasinha-Jayavarman is *circa* 1275 A.C., when he had already been on the throne for about 20 years, which is the normal period of a reign. Following his reign, we have no successive chronology of the few kings who are known from stray references, and we are in the dark as to their relation with each other. With these remarks, we intend to discuss the history of the dynasty in the following pages.

ARJUNAVARMAN II

accession *c.* 1275 A.C. (?)

Jayavarman appears to have been succeeded by Arjunavarman II. He was a weak ruler and his kingdom, which had further tottered, was now a prey to the attacks of enemies on all sides. The first blow was probably struck by the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, who were the hereditary enemies of the Paramāras. The Udāri inscription of the Yādava Rāmachandra, dated Śaka 1198 (1276 A.C.) speaks of his victory over king Arjuna of Mālava,³ who was apparently Arjunavarman. Taking advantage of the situation, the valiant Chāhamāna ruler Hammira (1283-1310 A.C.) also led a successful military campaign in the Paramāra kingdom. He is said to have "wrested the glory of Mālavā by force".⁴ Almost at the same time the Vāghēlās, who too had been waiting for an opportunity, struck a blow at their tottering hereditary enemy. The Chintra *praśasti* avers that the Vāghēlā ruler Śaraṅgadēva (*c.* 1275-1295 A.C.) reduced the power of the king of Mālavā, with the help of his vassal Visala.⁵ He had also to sustain a defeat at the hands of another Visala (?) or his father, who is mentioned in the Girvad stone inscription of Pratāpasimha, the Ābū Paramāra ruler, dated V.S. 1344 (1285-86 A.C.).⁶

The fate of Arjunavarman against all these odds is not definitely known, except that he was unable to repulse any of these campaigns. His end, too, remains unknown.

BHŌJA II

Arjunavarman's successor on the Paramāra throne appears to have been Bhōja II, whose relation with his predecessor is not known. The *Hammira-Mahākāvya* of Nayachandra Sūri, which was written nearly a hundred years after Hammira's death but gives a very reliable account, states that in the course of his *dig-vijaya* Hammira reached Ujjain and Dhārā, defeated the Paramāra ruler Bhōja, encamped at the former of these cities where he worshipped Mahākālā.⁷

During the days of Bhōja, the Paramāra kingdom further tottered and its downfall did not appear to have been distant. Moreover, the troubles were increased when the Chief Minister of Arjunavarman turned against him. The Muslim writers speak of one

1 *Ibid.*, v. 72.

2 No. 55.

3 *A.R.*, Arch. Survey, Mysore, 1929, p. 143.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 50, v. 11. The defeated king of Mālava has been identified by G.H. Ojha, with Arjunavarman II. See *Hist. of Rājaputānā* (Hindi), p. 206. But Hammira seems to have led two expeditions against Mālava, once during Arjunavarman's reign and again during the reign of Bhōja II.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 281, v. 13; *I.N.I.*, No. 611. Also see *I.N.I.*, No. 589.

6 No. 82, v. 42. See our remarks in the edition of the inscription.

7 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 64 f.

Kōkā (sometimes called Harānanda) as the Rājā of Mālwa who was vanquished by Alāuddīn Khaljī in 1305 A.C.¹ The same ruler is also called Gōgādēva who was defeated by the Guhila Lakshmanasimha,² a contemporary of Alāuddīn. Kōkā, or Gōgā, thus appears to have been a contemporary of Bhōja. Wassāf, who completed his *Taziyatul-Amsār* in 1300 A.C., says: "It may be about thirty years previous to my laying the foundation of this book that the king of Mālwa died, and dissensions arose between his son and minister. After long hostilities and much slaughter, each of them acquired possession of part of that country".³ From Wassāf's writing it has been inferred that the king of Mālwa and his son referred to here are Arjunavarman II and Bhōja II,⁴ respectively. In that case, Kōkā may have been either the minister who made himself master of some portion of the kingdom of Bhōja II, or, may have put the Paramāra prince on the throne of Mālwa and ruled in his name.

With all these internal dissensions extenuated by external troubles, the Paramāra kingdom could not survive for long as an independent entity. We have already seen that its prestige had been shaken in the invasion of Iltutmish who plundered Vidishā and Ujjain; but the things changed in the days of the imperialist Khaljī dynasty; and in 1292 A.C., as we are informed by Firishta, Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, in the reign of his uncle Jala-ud-dīn Firuz (1290-96 A.C.) invaded Mālwa, captured the town of Bhilsā (Vidishā) and brought much plunder to Delhi.⁵ Again in 1305 A.C., Alā-ud-dīn sent his general "Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany....with an army to effect the conquest of Mālwa", who "was opposed by Kōkā, the Rājā of Mālwa"; and in the engagement that ensued, Kōkā offered a determined resistance, with 40,000 Rājput horses and 100,000 foot, but ultimately "Ein-ool-Moolk proved victorious, and reduced the cities of Oojeine, Mando, Dharamuggury and Chundery".⁶ The statement of Firishta, who alone among the Muslim historians mentions Kōkā and calls him the Rājā of Mālwa, is supported by an epigraph found at Chanderī and now preserved in the archaeological museum at Gwālior. The record is in Persian and is dated in the last (fourth) line, in 20th Sha'ban 711 (A.H.), the year being equivalent to 1311 A.C. It records the construction of a mosque at the place where it was found "in the country of Kōkā".⁷ This information clearly shows that even in this year the country was more popularly known after the name of Kōkā.

Thus we see that by the year 1305 the Paramāra authority in Mālwa was virtually extinguished, but even thereafter, some petty chiefs appear to have held parts of their former extensive kingdom. An inscription inscribed on a stone slab at the eastern entrance of the great temple at Udaipur and dated V.S. 1366 (1310 A.C.), reveals the name of one Jayasimha; and though the name of his family is not mentioned in the record, from the find-spot of it, it is evident that he was a ruler of Mālwa. The date of this epigraph is so far removed from the last known date of Jayasimha-Jayavarman (1274 A.C.) that he appears to have been a separate king; and G.H. Ojha actually designated him as Jayasimha IV of Malavā.⁸ But this view is highly doubtful for want of the mention of

1 T.F. (Briggs' translation), Vol. I, pp. 361 f.; D.H.N.I., Vol. II, pp. 907-08

2 D.R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions*, No. 784.

3 Elliot, Vol. III, p. 31.

4 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 147. A.K. Majumdar, however, takes the defeated person as Gōgā, or Kōkā. See his *Chaulūkyas of Gujarat*, p. 182. Also see I.N.I., No. 589. According to Khusrū, Kōkā was a Minister of Malhāk Dēva, a successor of Bhōja. See Elliot, Vol. III, p. 76.

5 T.F., Vol. I, p. 303.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 361-62.

7 I.H.Q., Vol. I (1925), p. 655.

8 *Hist. of Rājaputānā* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 204.

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the name of the dynasty, and, therefore, I am inclined to agree with H.C. Ray's remarks that "this must remain at present a guess, unsupported by any conclusive evidence".¹

The Paramāra family also appears to have established some more branch lines of petty rulers. One chief of the name of Harirāja has been recently brought to light by a fragmentary stone inscription deposited in the museum at Bhāvnagar in Saurāshtra, which I noticed in my personal visit to it. The date of the record, if at all it was given in it, is now lost and nothing about this chief except his family is known. Another stone inscription was found at Pokarana, ancient Pushkarana and now a *tehsil* of the same name in the Jaisalmer District of Rājasthān. The epigraph records the construction of a temple by Dhanapāla of the Pramāra (Paramāra) dynasty in commemoration of his father Ghimghaka; and the date given is Saturday, the 6th of the bright half of Āshāḍha, V.S. 1070, which, as calculated by K.N. Dikshit who noticed the inscription, is equivalent to 26th July, 1012 A.C., the year being northern Vikrama current.² But we do not know anything about the two persons mentioned in this epigraph and it is also doubtful whether they were ruling chiefs.

ADDENDUM

Just before the rise of the Paramāras, the land of Mālwa was a bone of contest between their immediate predecessors who were the Rāshtrakūṭas of the south and the Gūjjara-Pratihāras of the north; and here we propose to give a brief sketch of their struggle, to show how often this region passed over from one of these dynasties to the other.

Both the above-mentioned ruling houses are known to have begun their career, almost simultaneously, in the first half of the eighth century, when we find a Gūjjara ruling house holding Mālwa, with its capital at Ujjain.³ Just to its north-west was a Rāshtrakūṭa principality, the existence of which is disclosed by the Indragadh stone inscription, dated 710 A.C.⁴ It may here be conjectured, though without any evidence to prove it, that the find-spot of the stone on which this record is engraved may have been named after the Rāshtrakūṭa Indra I, who flourished about this time and who might have extended his conquest to this region during the havoc caused by the Arab Muslim raids, which had weakened the contemporary Hindu princes of the west.

Indra's son Dantidurga, who began to rule in circa 745 A.C., is known to have captured Ujjain from a Gūjjara ruler, who was probably the same as the one referred to above, and obliged him to work as his door-keeper.⁵ But soon thereafter the tide changed its course and in 783 A.C. Avanti (Ujjain) was once again under the sway of the Pratihāra Vatsarāja, Nāgabhaṭa's grandson.⁶ How Vatsarāja appropriated this region is not known.

1 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 906: the places mentioned in the Gwālior Museum inscription which we have referred to above, are Ujjain, Dhar, Māṇḍū and Chandēri. It may thus be guessed that a portion of the kingdom of the Paramāras comprising the region around Udaipur, the find-spot of this record, still remained unconquered; and if so, we may take this Jayasimha as ruling in this region at this time. His subsequent history is not known.

2 *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1930-34, p. 220. The inscription was edited by Ram Vallabh Somani in *Śodha Patrikā*, a Hindi Monthly from Udaipur (Rājasthān), for 22nd of its year, Pt. II, pp. 67-69. It ought to be properly edited.

3 *R.T.T.*, p. 31.

4 *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XLI, Pt. III, pp. 1 ff.

5 Ellōra Cave inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 25, v. 23.

6 Jināsēna's *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa*. For details and the controversy over the interpretation of the verse, see *A.I.K.*, p. 21.

The Baroda plates of Karkarāja inform us that the territory of Ujjain was snatched from the Pratihāras, by Gōvinda III (793-840 A.C.), who, probably comprehending some danger from the north, made arrangements for protecting it during the minority of his son Amōghavarsha, who at the time of his accession, was a boy of 13 or 14.¹ In the long reign of this king (814-878 A.C.) this region was annexed by Nāgabhaṭa's grandson Mihira-Bhōja, whose earliest known date is 836 A.C.² but subsequently, it was recovered by Kṛishṇa II (c. 878-914 A.C.) in a battle fought at Ujjain itself.³ In the meanwhile we hear of the rise of another Rāshtrakūṭa house at Paṭhārī (Vidishā Dist.), in the northeast of Ujjain, from an inscription dated 861 A.C.⁴

In the following years Mālwa is again known to have changed hands. Bhōja's grandson Mahipāla, whose earliest known date is 914 A.C.⁵ was attacked by Indra III (914-927 A.C.), who also dared to capture his capital Kanauj,⁶ the premier city of North India. This undoubtedly shows that the Rāshtrakūṭa king had full control over Mālwa, through which he passed in his invasion of the north. But no sooner than the wave of the Rāshtrakūṭa invasion subsided, Mahipāla re-established the fortune of his family, with the help of his feudatories, one of whom was Bhāmāna I, the Kalachuri chief of Gorakhpur, who is credited with the conquest of Dhārā in the Kalha plates of his successor Sōḍhadēva.⁷

R.C. Majumdar, and following him D.C. Ganguly, associate the statement of the Kalha plates to the help rendered by Bhāmāna to his overlord Mahipāla;⁸ and if so, we have to take both these rulers as contemporaries of each other; and in the light of this fact, to revise the period of the former also, which is calculated by prof. V.V. Mirashi from *circa* 890 to 905 A.C.⁹ which however, would show that he was not a contemporary of Mahipāla and his reign closed about a decade preceding the latter's accession. Incidentally, it may also be remarked here that the period assigned to this ruler by Mirashi is also contrary to his own statement made elsewhere in the same work (p. cxiii), viz., that the Paramāra adversary of Bhāmāna, though not named, may have been Muṇja (c. 974-995 A.C.).

In view of all these preliminaries, we may now take up the question of the rise of the Paramāra rulers and their association with Mālwa. To me it appears to be more probable that the early Paramāra rulers, viz., Vakpatirāja I (Bappaiparāja), his son Vairisimha and the latter's son Siyaka were all ruling in some part of Gujarāt, and it was not possible for them to appropriate any part of Mālwa. From the Pratāpghadh inscription of the time of Mahēndrapāla II, dated V.S. 1003 = 946 A.C., we know that the Pratihāra kingdom then stretched up to the district of Daśapura (Mandasor) in the west and upto Ujjain and Māṇḍū in the south and also that all these places were guarded by royal officers of the house. The last-mentioned place is about 195 kms. due south of Mandasaur and about 115 kms. straight southwest of Ujjain, which is about 150 kms. south east of Mandasaur and the relative position of all these places, forming a triangle, shows that the western and the southern boundaries of the Pratihāra kingdom were well protected in 946 A.C., which is the time of the inscription, only three years before Siyaka issued

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 160, 164. It is possible, as already suggested by Dr. Altekar, that Gōvinda may have appointed his uncle Karka to rule over Mālwa after its conquest and annexation. See *R.T.T.*, p. 83, n.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15 ff.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 66; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 24. For the contrary view, see *A.I.K.*, p. 31.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 248.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 190 ff.; *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 90.

6 *A.I.K.*, p. 13.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 88.

8 *A.I.K.*, pp. 36 and 95, respectively.

9 *C.L.I.*, Vol. IV, p. cxii (genealogical table).

his Harsola plate records. Thus it could not have been possible for Siyaka to enter into a struggle with all the powerful rivals, who were feudatories of the Pratiharas, though in his later years he may have extended his conquests to some land adjoining east of his own dominion. Therefore I agree with the editors of the Harsola plate records (K.N. Dikshit and D.B. Diskalkar), who observed that "the country round about Ujjain was obtained by them (the Paramaras) not before the later part of Siyaka's reign or the early part of Vakpati-Munja's reign".¹ It is significant to note here that all the three grants of the former of these rulers were found in Gujarat, where the places mentioned in them have also been located, and those of the latter in Malwa, the earlier one in the west, on the confines of Gujarat, and the later one in the east. Here we have to note that the Gujarat appears to have been handed over to them by the successors of Indra III, as already seen.

In view of what has been said above, Dr. Altekar's conjecture that the Paramaras were in the beginning very probably the feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratiharas, is, after all, a hypothesis and not a proved fact. The basis of his surmise is the interpretation of a verse in the Nausari grant which states that Indra III conquered Upendra, who, according to him, was identical with Krishnaraja of Vakpati's grants, both the words, viz., Upendra and Krishna, being synonymous, as already suggested by Hall and others, and the great-grandfather of Vakpati-Munja.² But the view that the Paramaras began their career as the feudatories of the Pratiharas can be accepted only on the assumption that Padmagupta, presumably having no definite knowledge of the genealogy of the early Paramara kings, not only changed the name Krishna to Upendra, probably for metrical exigencies, but also placed this ruler (Upendra) at the top of the list, and this account was followed by the composer of the Udaipur *prasthi* by repeating the names of Vairisimha and Siyaka, which led some scholars to hold that there were two rulers of each of these names. This repetition of names we do not find in Dhanapala's *Tilakamajari*,³ nor have we any epigraphic evidence in support of it, as already stated above.

The later half of the Nausari grant has also a pun in it, viz., that it was by no means a matter of wonder for Indra (the ruler and the deity) if he conquered Upendra (the king and Vishnu), who was junior to him, as the use of the prefix *upa* shows.

Dr. Altekar's conjecture that Indra may have defeated the Paramara Upendra⁴ (whom we have taken as identical with Krishna or Vakpatiraja I), if corroborated by any epigraphic evidence, may also explain why in the latter part of his career Siyaka undertook an expedition against Khottiga and plundered his capital in 972-73 A.C., when the Rashtrakuta power began to decline, as already seen above, in the account of that ruler.

APPENDIX

A NOTE ON JAGADDĒVA PARAMĀRA

Jagaddēva, whose name does not occur in the genealogy of the Paramara rulers of Malwa, is known from two of our inscriptions, one of which was found at Dōngargāon in the Yeotmal District of Berar and is dated Śaka 1034 or 1112 A.C., and the other, which bears no date, at Jainād in the Ādilābād District of the Nizam's dominions, now included in the Āndhra Pradesh, and about 105 kilometres almost due east of Dōngargāon.⁵

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 240. The statement of the Udaipur *prasthi*, viz., that "Vairisimha suggested that Dhārā belongs to him" (v. 11) has thus to be interpreted to show that he may have made an incursion in Malwa, but his success was only ephemeral.

2 For details, see *R.T.T.*, pp. 100 f. This part of the verse is: *Upēndram = Indrarājēna jivā yēna na vismitam*

3 *Introduction*, vv. 40 ff.

4 *R.T.T.*, p. 101.

5 Nos. 28-29.

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In our account of Udayāditya we have referred to the statement of the *Rāsamālā*, viz., that Jagaddēva left Mālwa and entered the service of Jayasīṃha Siddharāja of Gujārāt.¹ This narration no doubt presents chronological difficulties, since Jayasīṃha is known to have commenced his rule in 1094 A.C., after the death of Udayāditya, which took place in 1093 A.C., according to the Dēwās grant of his son Naravarman.² In the same way, the other detail recorded in the *Rāsamālā*, viz., that Jagaddēva quitted the service of Jayasīṃha when the latter made preparations to attack Mālwa and that on his return he was received with great affection by his father, who subsequently appointed him as his successor, investing him with the royal mark, and also that he ruled for fifty-two years, etc., have all been regarded unhistorical.

From verse 6 of the Dōṅgargāṇ inscription we learn that Jagaddēva was a son of Udayāditya; and the Jainād inscription supplements this information by the account that "though Udayāditya had (several) sons, through the favour of Hara, he obtained still another, who was after his heart". Thus we may conclude that Jagaddēva was the youngest of all the brothers. The first of these records also states that after the death of Udayāditya, "the Royal Fortune offered herself to Jagaddēva, but he renounced her in favour of his elder brother, being apprehensive of incurring the sin of *parivitti*", i.e., marrying before an elder brother marries. Thus it would seem that Jagaddēva, who had been chosen by Udayāditya as his successor, relinquished his claim in favour of his elder brother, Naravarman, who ascended the throne in 1193 A.C.

As stated above, Jagaddēva's name is not mentioned in any other Paramāra inscriptions and therefore he was supposed to have been identical with, or a *biruda* of Lakshmadēva, another son of Udayāditya, according to the Nagpur museum stone inscription, as held by some scholars.³ But while editing the Dōṅgargāṇ inscription, Dr. V.V. Mirashi has shown that Jagaddēva was different from Lakshmadēva, and also from Naravarman,⁴ and on the basis of an inscription recently discovered we have concluded that Lakshmadēva, who was indeed different from Naravarman, predeceased him whereas Jagaddēva was alive even after his death, as shown below also.

Jagaddēva is mentioned in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, which of course does not give his pedigree but states that he entered the service of Paramardin, king of Kuntala.⁵ Paramardin, or Parmadirāya, was a *biruda* of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.C.), and that Jayasīṃha served him is corroborated by the verse of the Dōṅgargāṇ inscription, according to which the latter called the former "the first among his own sons, the lord of his kingdom, his very self." Vikramāditya also appears to have entrusted Jagaddēva with the governorship of the country lying to the north of the Gōdāvari, which he had then wrested from the Paramāras, whose kingdom was coterminous with that of his own.

Jagaddēva was a brave prince who made his mark by martial exploits. The Jainād inscription states that he led successful raids over Āndhra, Chakradurga and Dōrasamudra. The first of these territories, which signifies the region between the Kṛishṇa and the Gōdāvari, was then under the sway of the Chōḷa ruler Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1120 A.C.); the second, which is identical with a part of the modern Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh, was then being ruled over by the Chhindaka Nāga king, Sōmēśvara I (c. 1069-

1 Above, p. 31

2 No. 31.

3 *H.P.D.*, p. 142; and *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 878, respectively. Also see *I.N.I.*, No. 2084, n. This identification is probably based on the statement of some Hoysala records mentioning Jagaddēva as the king of Mālwa, for which see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, p. 168. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription only contains a fulsome praise of Lakshmadēva but does not mention him as a successor of Udayāditya.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 181.

5 p. 186.

1097 A.C.), who is known from an inscription dated Śaka 1033;¹ and Dvārasamudra or Dvārasamudra was the capital of the Hoysala Erēyaṅga (1063-1100 A.C.) and Ballāla I (1100-1110 A.C.).² It is not possible to know whether Jagaddēva invaded all these kingdoms independently or by assisting his overlord Vikramāditya, who is known to have raided these territories,³ though the latter of the alternatives appears to be more probable. His raid of Dvārasamudra is corroborated by a Hoysala inscription, which records that "the emperor (Vikramāditya VI) sent Jagaddēva at the head of a large Chālukya army to invade the Hoysala country but was repulsed by Ballāla I and his brothers Vishnuvardhana and Udayāditya, the valiant sons of the Hoysala king Erēyaṅga".⁴

Jagaddēva appears to have come to a clash with the Gūrjaras, also. Verse 10 of the Jainād inscription states that "it is strange that even to-day the extending waves of the flood of tears of the wives of the Gūrjara heroes weeping day and night in the cave entrances of the Arbuda mountain, indicate the twang of the bow of this king which was (on the other hand) the evening thunder in the study of the accounts of Jayasimha's valour".⁵ We have no independent evidence of Jagaddēva's struggle with the army of the Gūrjaras, though it has been suggested that he fought under Jayasimha, the successor of the Paramāra king Bhōja, against the king of the Gūrjaras.⁶ But besides the fact that it presents chronological difficulties, this suggestion cannot be accepted for want of a corroborative evidence.

Jagaddēva was not only chivalrous but also liberal. From the Dōngargāon inscription we learn that he granted a village to the Brāhmaṇa Śrinivāsa, who built there a temple in honour of Śiva. The minister of this prince was Lōlārka, the son of Guṇarāja and grandson of Mahēndu of the Dāhima family. The Jainād inscription states that Padmāvati, the wife of Lōlārka, erected the temple of Nimbāditya, at a place, the name of which is not mentioned but which appears to have been identical with Jainād itself where the inscription was found.

According to the *Rāsamālā*, Jagaddēva lived to the age of eighty-five, and following this, it may be concluded that probably he outlived his brother Naravarman. The Paramāra king Arjunavarman, in his *Rasikasāñjivani*, states that his predecessor, Jagaddēva, was very graceful.⁷ His daughter, Mālavādēvi was married to Sāmalavarman, the king of east Bengal.⁸ "His self-abnegation, chivalry and liberality made him far-famed", as we learn from the Dōngargāon inscription (v. 11) and also from the Gujarāt chronicles.⁹

OTHER PARAMĀRA DYNASTIES

Besides the imperial royal house of Mālwa, there were two other royal houses of the Paramāras which held their sway, more or less simultaneously, in the adjoining territories. One of these houses grew to power in the region around Mount Ābū, gradually extending its control over parts of Mārwaḍ, and the other held the country known as Vāgaḍa, comprising parts of the modern districts of Bānswāḍā and Dūngarpur in southern

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 314.

2 The dates of these two kings mentioned here are as suggested by K.A.N. Sastri in his *History of South India* (1955), p. 215. For difference of opinion, see *S.E.*, p. 233 n. 4.

3 *V.D.C.* IV, vv. 21-30.

4 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, p. 168.

5 Here I follow the translation of the verse as given by N.P. Chakravarti, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 63, n. 1.

6 See *ibid.*, p. 57. Also see n. 22 on the same page.

7 *ibid.*, p. 8.

8 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 59.

9 For example, see *Rāsamālā*, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.; *P.C.M.* pp. 186 ff.; *Subhāshita* No. 1261 in the *Sārngadharaḍḍhātī*. For the history of his successors, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 182 f.

Rājasthān. Some of the branches of the former of these dynasties subsequently extended their territories in the neighbouring regions of Bhīmāl, Kirādū and Jālōr and they were known after these places. We have epigraphic evidence to know that all these three houses were only off-shoots of the main stock, which was, of course, different from that of the Vāgaḍa Paramāras. The dominions of the Ābū house, though smaller in extent than that of the imperial Paramāra house, was more extensive than the other, which governed the limited region of Vāgaḍa.

The rulers belonging to all these houses were semi-independent chiefs; and whereas those of the Ābū branch owed their allegiance to the Chaulūkyā dynasty of Gujarāt, those at Vāgaḍa were subordinate to the main line of Mālava, with which they were connected by blood-relationship, as we shall see while narrating the history of the respective houses, which, of course, is little known and less studied. With a few exceptions the rulers belonging to any of these houses did not take prominent part in the political history of India. From the account that follows, it will be clear that much has yet to be known and said about the history of all these houses.

A. THE PARAMĀRAS OF MĀRWĀḌ

(i) Ābū Branch

In view of what has been stated above, viz., that this house, which began its political career around Ābū, gradually extended its sway in parts of Mārwāḍ also, we prefer to designate it by this general heading, as done by D.R. Bhandarkar. This house commenced its career in the early years of the tenth century and continued to rule till almost the close of the 13th century for the same period as ruled by the imperial house of Mālwa. In its inscriptions we find expressions like *Arbuda-bhū-maṇḍala*, *Arbuda-maṇḍala* and *Arbuda-bhūmi-maṇḍala-pati*,¹ to denote this region. Like the imperial Paramāra rulers of Mālwa, these kings also claimed their origin from the sacrificial fire-altar of Vasishṭha on Mount Ābū,² though we have nothing to show that the two houses had any blood-relationship.

The capital of this house was at Chandrāvati, which is now a deserted place about 5 kms. south-southwest of Ābū Road station on the Delhi-Ahmedābād line of the Western Railway.³ The rulers belonging to this house bore the feudatory title of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, and owed their allegiance to the Chaulūkyā house of Gujarāt, though a few of them are known to have professed their claim to the title *Mahārājādhirāja*.

In our records the name of the dynasty is also written in a slightly varying form as Pramāra, Paṁvāra and Pāramāra, all these words apparently being used for metrical exigencies.⁴

The first historical ancestor of this dynasty was Sindhurāja, mentioned in a solitary inscription which belongs to a later period and is dated V.S. 1218 or 1161 A.C. It was found at Kirādū in the Bārmēḍ District.⁵ This ruler is called in it the *Mahārāja* of Maru-*maṇḍala*. It is rather curious that this name does not figure in any other record of the house; it is known only from an inscription recorded nearly two hundred and fifty years

1. For example, in No. 62, v.8; No. 63, 13; and No. 76, v.9, respectively. In No. 73, v. 3, it is called *Ashṭādāśatadēśa* but here the word *dēśa* is vaguely used. It is mentioned as a *maṇḍala* in one of the Chaulūkyā inscriptions. See *P.O.*, Vol. III, P. 71.

2. See No. 62, v. 3; No. 76, v. 2 etc.

3. In No. 73 (v. 2) the kingdom is called *Chandrāvati-dēśa*-1800.

4. For example, in No. 62, v. 3; No. 73, v. 2; and No. 96, v. 2.

5. No. 94, v. 4.

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later and also from a distant region. The next ruler mentioned in this record is Dūsala or Ūsala,¹ whose relationship with Sindhurāja cannot be definitely known, as the portion showing the same is lost. After him and two other names which are lost, the inscription introduces Dēvarāja in v. 10. The two names which are lost here are not to be found in any of the earlier inscriptions of the house. More about all these rulers will be discussed below, in our account of the Bhīnmāl-Kiraḍū branch.

On the other hand, an inscription from Vasantaḡaḡh, dated V.S. 1090 (1042 A.C.), and an undated fragmentary copper-plate from Rōhēḡā begin the genealogy with Utpalarāja, whose son was Aranyarāja, and whose son again was Adbhuta Kṛishnarāja *alias* Vāsudēva.² The last named ruler is also known from an inscription found at Varkānā in the Pālī District of Rājasthān and dated V.S. 1024 or 967 A.C., recording the installation of an image of Mahāvira in his reign.³ And counting back from this year and assigning about twenty years to each of the generations, we may hypothetically conjecture the following chronology for the early three rulers belonging to this house:⁴

Utpalarāja, c. 910 to c.930 A.C.

Aranyarāja, c. 930 to c. 950 A.C.

Krishnarāja (I), c. 950 to c. 970 A.C.

Here it is significant to note that the Rōhēḡā copper-plate uses a word meaning king with the name of each of these three rulers, showing that all of them actually ruled. But nothing further is known about any of them.

DHARAṆIVARĀHA

c. 970 to c. 990 A.C.

The Rōhēḡā copper-plate informs us that Kṛishnarāja was succeeded by his son Dharaṇivarāha. In the Vasantaḡaḡh inscription the portion showing his relation with his predecessor is lost, but it says that this ruler resembled the great Boar who rescued the earth, meaning his kingdom. The statement probably refers to his efforts in liberating the kingdom which had been annexed by Mūlarāja, who was on the Chaulūkyā throne and whose known dates range between 942 and 995 A.C. The Bijāpur inscription of Dhavala of Hastikunḡi informs us that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhavala gave shelter to Dharaṇivarāha who was deprived of his kingdom by Mūlarāja;⁵ and it may be held that when defeated and deprived of his kingdom by Mūlarāja, the Paramāra ruler received some aid from Dhavala. This incident happened before 997 A.C., the date of the Bijāpur inscription.

¹ *Ibid.*, v. 5. Here the text is *Pratāp-ḡj(jj)valadīsalah*, which, according to *pada-choḡḡda*, may be taken either *ujjvaladīsalah* or *ujjvala-Dūsalah*.

² No. 62, v. 4; and No. 76, v. 2, respectively.

³ *A.R., A.S.I.*, 1936-37, p. 122, where the ruler mentioned in the record has been identified with Kṛishnarāja. This record is said to have been the earliest known inscription of the family, but it could not be included here, as it is now not traceable nor is an impression available. Varkānā is about 20 kms. straight north by east of Pipḡwāḡā. For a still earlier record of the house, dated V. 744 (687 A.C.), see *ibid.*

⁴ The chronology is purely tentative, as it is not definitely known whether the Varkānā record was engraved in the earlier or later years of the reign of this ruler. It may also be stated here that after the mention of Sindhurāja and Dūsala (or Ūsala), the Kiraḡṭ inscription has a break, and while introducing Utpalarāja, the Vasantaḡaḡh inscription and the Rōhēḡā copper-plate respectively use the expression *ary-ānvayē* and *tadvamśya*, and therefore we hesitate to agree with Dr. Bhatia in taking Utpalarāja as an immediate successor of Sindhurāja (see *P.B.P.*, p. 164). But I agree with her so far as in rejecting the theory of D.C. Ganguly who identified this Utpala with Vākpatriāja of the Imperial Paramāra house of Mālḡā (see *ibid.*).

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 21, v. 12. The reading is *yam mūlād-udamūlayat*. D. sharma is inclined to hold that in this battle Kumārāpāla made a joint attack with the Nāḡḡl Chāhamāna ruler Śōbhita. See *E.C.D.*, p. 122.

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According to the bardic chronicles, Dharaṇivarāha divided his kingdom among his nine brothers, viz., Maṇḍōvara to one brother, Ajmer to the second, Gaḍha Pūgala to the third named Siddhasuva, Lauḍrava to the fourth named Gajamalla, Arbuda to the fifth named Bhānabhuva, Jālandhar to Bhōjarāja who was the sixth, Dharadhāra to the seventh brother Jōgarāja, Hānsū to the eighth and Kirāḍū to the ninth.¹ This statement is not supported by any epigraphic evidence nor do we know the relevant details in this respect, but it goes to show undoubtedly that this ruler had to a certain degree extended the territories of his kingdom.

DHŪRBHAṬA

c. 990 to c. 1000 A.C.

This ruler is known from the copper-plate from Rōhēḍā, which mentions him as the son and successor of Dharaṇivarāha. His name appears as Dhruvabhata in two of the Arbuda *prastis*.² No political incident of his reign is so far known. He appears to have enjoyed a short reign, after which he was succeeded by his younger brother Mahipāla.

MAHIPĀLA

c. 1000 to c. 1020 A.C.

Mahipāla was the second son of Dharaṇivarāha and the immediate successor of Dhūrbhata. He is mentioned in the Vasantagaḍh inscription and the copper-plate from Rōhēḍā, and D.R. Bhandarkar was of the view that this ruler was no other than Dēvarāja who issued a grant from Rōpi or Rōpsi near Bhinmāl.³ Bhandarkar based his suggestion about this identification on his observation that the father and grandfather of both, i.e., Mahipāla and Dēvarāja, must have been one and the same prince, as in inscriptions one ruler is known to have borne more than one name. This suggestion appears to have been justified from the fact that while describing Mahipāla's son Dhandhuka, we find in our records the name of his father as Dēvarāja and as Mahipāla in others, which we shall presently see.

Mahipāla *alias* Dēvarāja appears to have been an ambitious ruler. His Rōpi plate gives him the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, which shows only that he was an illustrious ruler and not necessarily that he was a sovereign, for from the Kirāḍū inscription we learn that his overlord was the Chaulūkyā king Durlabharāja, to whom he was most loyal. The same plate has also the expression *Śrīmāl-āvasthita* alongwith *sva-bhujyamāna-vishayē*, for him, respectively in its ll. 3 and 4; this may perhaps indicate that to him was assigned this town either by his father Dharaṇivarāha or his (Dēvarāja's) elder brother Dhūrbhata, as a *jāgir*, probably independent of the kingdom of Chandrāvati, and also that at the former place he founded his own line of rulers. We have already seen how far the bardic account may be taken as true in the absence of any epigraphical evidence.

This ruler had a *mahā-sāmanta* of the name of Pūrṇachandra under him. From the mention of his spiritual teacher Maivākad in the same plate, in l. 19, he seems to have been devoted to religion.

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p.197; also quoted in *P.B.P.*, p. 165, n. 5.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 210, v. 34.

³ See *A.S.I.R.*, W.C., 1907-08, p. 38. In his *List of Inscriptions*, No. 103, D.R. Bhandarkar stated that this grant was issued in (V.S.) 1069, whereas I follow V. Shastri, who edited it and whose transcript I have adopted, in taking the year as 1059. Neither the original plate nor its impression is now available for re-examination. See my remarks also in No. 91.

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DHANDHUKA

c. 1020 to c. 1040 A.C.

Mahipāla's successor was his son Dhandhuka, as we learn from the Vasantagaḍh inscription and the Rōhēḍā plate.¹ He is also mentioned in the Kirāḍū inscription, in which the portion giving some details about him are broken; and the mention of Dēvarāja immediately before him² further strengthens the suggestion of Bhandarkar about the identity of Mahipāla and Dēvarāja, as stated above.

The name of this ruler figures as Dhandhuva in the Varmān inscription of V.S. 1099. He was a powerful ruler, as we find him mentioned in the Ābū Paramāra inscriptions and also in that which was found at Kirāḍū which pertains to the Bhinmāl branch.

In the earlier years of his reign, Dhandhuka maintained cordial relations with the Chaulūkyā ruler Durlabharāja (1010-1022 A.C.) through whose favour he became ruler of *Maru-maṇḍala* and whose sovereignty he appears to have recognised. But being displeased with Durlabharāja's successor Bhima I (c. 1022- c. 1064 A.C.), he left the Chaulūkyā court and sought refuge with Paramāra Bhōja. It is thus also possible that he was dethroned by Bhimā, for we learn from an inscription that the latter appointed Vimāla as the governor of *Arbuda-maṇḍala*.³ Later on, Vimāla managed to restore cordial relations between Bhima and Dhandhuka and subsequently the latter was restored to power.

The village Dhandhapura (modern Dhanpur in the Sirōhi District) is associated with the name of this ruler.⁴

Dhandhuka was a prince of great valour. The Kirāḍū inscription describes him in a conventional way, as possessing irresistible strength (*durvāra-vīrya*); the Vasantagaḍh inscription informs us that "he restored the royal fortune (of his house) by driving away his adversaries", and this statement is repeated in the Rōhēḍā copper-plate. Who these adversaries were is, of course, not known, but the statement goes to show that he had some border skirmishes with any of his neighbours. Dhandhuka married Amṛitadēvi, whose family is not known. She gave birth to a son whose name was Pūrṇapāla, who succeeded him some time before 1042 A.C., the first known date of the latter's reign.

PŪRṆAPĀLA

c. 1040 to c. 1050 A.C.

This ruler was the son and successor of Dhandhuka, as we have just seen. Three inscriptions of his time are known. The first of these, which was discovered at Varmān (Pāli Dist.) and is dated V.S. 1099 = 1042 A.C., records the restoration of a Sun temple at that place; the second comes from Vasantagaḍh (Sirōhi Dist.) and shows the same year; it mentions some repairs done to a temple by his younger sister Lāhīni-dēvi; and the third, which is dated V.S. 1102=1045 A.C. and is from Bhārūṇḍa (Pāli Dist.), records the construction of a stepped well by some *gōshṭhikas* of that place.⁵ The first and the third of these documents which are not from Sirōhi but from the adjoining district of Pāli, probably go to show that Pūrṇapāla not only maintained intact the kingdom inherited by him but also extended it to some extent. In the first of these records he bears the

1 Respectively, No. 62, v. 5; and No. 76, v. 4.

2 In No. 94, vv. 9 ff.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 148. It is also held by some that Dhandhuka probably revolted against his overlord Bhima once again. See C.G., p. 49.

4 It is mentioned as Dhandhukapura in an inscription of V.S. 1347. See *ASIR.*, W.C., 1916-17, p. 72.

5 Nos. 61 and 63, respectively.

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subordinate title of *Mahārāja*, but the third gives him the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, which probably indicates that this king not only relieved himself of the Chaulūkyas yoke but also assumed independence some time between these two dates. Our conclusion is supported by verse 10 of the Vasantagaḍh inscription which gives this ruler the credit of "killing a host of enemies and driving their elephants to his palace". These enemies were very probably the Chaulūkyas, by defeating whom he dared to assume independence.¹ This is, however, only a surmise, not corroborated by any evidence.

DANTIVARMAN

c. 1050 to c. 1060 A.C.

Pūrṇapāla, who seems to have left no son behind him, was succeeded by his younger brother Dantivarman. No specific exploit of this ruler is so far known; the Rōhēḍā copper-plate, mentions that the first of the three brothers was Pūrṇapāla, the second Dantivarman and the third was Kṛishṇadēva, and adds that all of them ruled one after another. It also says that Dantivarman had a son named Yōgarāja and the latter again had a son of the name of Rāmadēva. And the statement that Dantivarman was followed on the throne not by his son but by his brother Kṛishṇadēva leads us to conjecture that there was a war of succession in the family, as we have also shown below, while editing No. 187.

KRISHṆARāja II

c. 1060 to c. 1090 A.C.

This ruler was the younger brother of Dantivarman, whom he is said to have succeeded. Two inscriptions of his time are known; one of them (No. 92) which is dated V.S. 1117 or 1060 A.C., records the restoration of a Sun temple at Bhinmāl, and the other (No. 93) mentions the gift of some *drammas* to a deity in a temple at the same place in V.S. 1123 or 1067 A.C. Both these inscriptions give Kṛishṇadēva the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, but the Kirādū inscription, which also mentions him, says that he was adorned with *Mahāśabdas*, which may probably mean that he was entitled to use the *mahāśabdas*, which of course shows that he was a subordinate to some imperial power. We have no evidence to finalise either of these views, though the following conjecture may be held in this respect.

As this ruler is mentioned in the records of the Ābū Paramāras and also in those from Bhinmāl, the question naturally arises if for the entire period of his reign he was on the throne of Chandravatī or on that of Bhinmāl, or for parts of the time at either of these places. This problem cannot be solved at the present state of our knowledge. It is also possible that he may have been appointed viceroy to govern the region around Bhinmāl, either by his father or his elder brother, and taking advantage of the family strife, as we have guessed above, he declared independence.

The Sundhā hill inscription, referred to above informs us that Kṛishṇarāja (II) was taken captive by his overlord, the Chaulūkyas Bhimadēva, and was thereafter liberated with the help of Bālāprasāda, the Nāḍōl Chāhamāna ruler. Whether this event is in any way related to declaring independence by the Paramāra king, cannot be definitely said.

¹ As his father Dhandhuka also is described, in No. 62, v. 7, as vanquishing his enemies, whether the son or the father succeeded in regaining the throne, with the help of Bhōja, remains uncertain in the present state of our knowledge. This victory, however, was short-lived, for from one of the Ābū inscriptions (I.N.I. No. 137) we know that in 1062 A.C. Ābū was under Bhīma.

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The period of the reign of Krishnarāja is highly conjectural, as he was the youngest of the three brothers.

KĀKALADĒVA,

c. 1090 to c. 1115 A.C.

Krishnarāja was succeeded by his son Kākaladēva, whose name figures only in the oft-quoted fragmentary copper-plate from Rōhēḍā, which gives him the title of *rāja*. However, nothing more about the political events of his reign are known so far. It is also doubtful whether he occupied the throne at all. And next to him we have mention of his son Vikramasimha, who was on the throne.

VIKRAMASIMHA

c. 1115 to c. 1145 A.C.

Vikramasimha was a contemporary of the Chaulūkyā Kumārapāla, and of Arṇorāja, the Chāhamāna ruler of Sapādalaksha. The *Dvayāśrayakāvya* informs us that Vikramasimha sided Kumārapāla, as his feudatory, in the latter's attack on Arṇorāja;¹ and the *Kumārapālaprabandha* further says that at the time of the actual struggle the Paramāra ruler went over to the side of Arṇorāja. For his disloyalty, Vikramasimha, however, had to suffer heavily, for we are further told that Kumārapāla defeated and threw him into prison, and replaced him on the throne by his nephew Yaśōdhavala.² This event occurred some time between 1143 A.C., when Kumārapāla ascended the throne, and 1146 A.C., the first known date of Yaśōdhavala.

YAŚŌDHAVALA

c. 1145 to c. 1160 A.C.

Yaśōdhavala began to rule as a feudatory of his overlord Kumārapāla, to whom he was greatly devoted for favouring him with the throne. To show his loyalty to the imperial house, he accompanied the Chaulūkyā ruler in his attack on Mālavā and killed Ballāla, its ruler, who had become hostile to the Chaulūkyā overlord.³ This event, which is of great political importance, has already been described above in the history of the main Paramāra house.

Two inscriptions of the time of Yaśōdhavala are known. The first of them, which is dated V.S. 1202=1146 A.C., records a grant by his queen, Saubhāgyadēvi, who is said to have belonged to the Chaulūkyā family, and the second, which is dated V.S. 1207 or 1150 A.C., also registers some donations. Both these records were found in the Sirōhi District.⁴

1 Canto XVI, vv. 33-34. This is also mentioned by Jinamaṇḍana and other writers.

2 Pages 40 ff. Also see *Prabandhacharita* (V.S. 1197), *S.J.G.*, p. 202, vv. 576-580. Ganguly is of the opinion that the battle fought by Kumārapāla was not against Arṇorāja but against Ballāla, for which see *H.P.D.*, p. 303.

3 *Arbuda-prasasti* in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 210, v. 35. It reads: *Yaś = Chaulūkyā-Kumārapāla-nṛpati-pratyarthitum-āgataḥ; garvā satvaram-eva Mālava-patim Ballālam-ālabdhavān*.

4 Nos. 64-65. In addition to these, there is one more record (No. 66), which we have tentatively assigned to his time. He is also described in the *Arbuda-prasasti*. Still another stone inscription of his reign and dated V.S. 1208 was found at Kōyalbāv, a village in Godwār, Jodhpur State (now a district in Rājasthān), as mentioned in *I.N.I.*, No. 283. For want of a transcript it could not be included here. Probably it is untraceable now.

DHĀRĀVARSHA,

c. 1160 to c. 1220 A.C.

Yaśōdhavala was succeeded by his son Dhārāvarsha, who was the greatest and the most popular king of the dynasty. His inscriptions range from V.S. 1220 (1164 A.C.) to V.S. 1276 (1219 A.C.). The earliest of them was found at Kāyadrā in the Sirōhi District, giving him the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, and the latest one exists at Makhāval in the same district. It is wholly mutilated but shows the year with its details very clearly.¹ Thus this ruler enjoyed quite a fairly long reign, extending over at least about 55 years. His Hāthal inscription gives him the title *samasta-rājāvalī-samalarīkṛita*, and calls him *Arbudādhipati* and *Māṇḍalikēśvara-Śambhu*.² The Rōhēḍā copper-plate describes him as "the ornament of the Paramāra family, the foremost among the kings, well versed in the *śāstras* and skilled in wielding weapons, virtuous, popular among the subjects and possessed of great valour."³ He was extraordinarily fond of hunting expeditions. The Girvaḍ stone inscription describes him as piercing three buffalos standing in a line in one shot, and compares him with Arjuna, the epic hero.⁴

The same inscription adds that Dhārāvarsha repulsed the Mālwā army on the banks of the Pūrpā.⁵ The details of this feat of Dhārāvarsha are unknown; nor has the Mālwā ruler whose army was forced to take to flight by this king has so far been identified. But we may probably connect this incident with the reign of Subhāṭavarman on Gujarāt, in the course of which he had suddenly to take to flight, as we have already seen. But while holding this view, the possibility that Dhārāvarsha may have participated, as prince, in his father's warfare with Ballāla who had then penetrated into the heart of Gujarāt in his attack on the country, cannot be altogether ruled out. This is, after all, a mere conjecture, to be decided by additional evidence, whenever it is available.

From the Rōhēḍā copper-plate we also learn that about the time when Dhārāvarsha was occupied in repelling the attack of the Mālwā army, Raṇasīmha, the son of the deposed Vikramasīmha, usurped his throne, and that the former obtained it again, after pleasing his overlord by means of his intellect, devotion and valour (vv. 10-11). We have seen how the Chaulūkyā Kumārapāla had replaced his feudatory Vikramasīmha by the latter's nephew Yaśōdhavala on the throne, and in view of this, it is plausible that Raṇasīmha, who was the son of the deposed Vikramasīmha, may have captured his paternal throne in the absence of Dhārāvarsha from the capital. The period of Raṇasīmha's reign appears to have been extremely short.

Dhārāvarsha rendered active military service to his overlord Kumārapāla in some other wars also. The southern neighbour of his sovereign was the Śilāhāra ruler Mallikārjuna, whose capital was at Thānā, and two of his inscriptions, dated 1157 and 1160 A.C. are known.⁶ Pretending to be offended by the honorific title of *Rājapitāmaha* assumed by Mallikārjuna, Kumārapāla deputed his minister Āmbaḍa with an army to

1 Respectively our No. 68, 11. 2-4, and D.R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions*, No. 473. For Dhārāvarsha's inscriptions edited here, see Nos. 67-75 and 197.

2 No. 68, 11. 2-4. Both these titles are used in No. 67, 11. 2-3. His title of *Mahārājādhirāja* does not necessarily show that he assumed independence but only that he was a mighty ruler, as we have shown in the case of the Paramāra Siyaka, who too bore both these titles. Still another example of bearing both these titles is that of the Chāhamāna Kēlhapa to whose name is attached the imperial title in one of his records (*J.A.S.B.*, 1916, pp. 103 f) whereas the feudatory title is used in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 222, 1. 22.

3 No. 76, v. 9.

4 No. 82, v. 15. In corroboration of this statement, we find at Achalagaḍh (Mt. Ābū) life-size marble statue of Dhārāvarsha standing and taking aim with a fully stretched bow at three stone buffalos standing in a line with a hole across the belly of all the three in a line.

5 *Ibid.*, v. 10.

6 *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19.

humble the pride of his adversary. Āmbaḍa lost the battle and returned broken-hearted; but he was again sent back with a fresh enforcement. This time the Chaulūkyā forces succeeded; Āmbaḍa won the field, killing Mallikārjuna, whose head he presented to his overlord.¹ Dhārāvarsha's participation in this battle has been inferred from an inscription at Mount Ābū, which states that "when he (Dhārāvarsha), enraged with wrath, held his ground on the battle-field, wives of the lord of Kōṅkaṇa shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes".²

After the death of Kumārapāla in 1172 A.C., the Gūrjara empire began to decline and was subject to attacks from all sides. During the reign of his successor Ajayapāla (1229-32 A.C.), it was invaded by the Guhila Sāmantasimha, whose inscriptions dated 1172 and 1179 A.C., are known. In the struggle that ensued, Ajayapāla was wounded but was saved by Prahādāna, who was then sent by his elder brother Dhārāvarsha, with a strong force. The Mount Ābū *prasthi* informs us that "Prahādāna, whose sword was dexterous ... defending the illustrious Gūrjara king when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sāmantasimha, displayed on earth again the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the descendants of Danu".³

Dhārāvarsha spent much of his time in warfare. His active participation in the Chaulūkyā-Chāhamāna struggle is indeed an achievement worth mentioning here. Soon after the accession of Bhīma II in 1178 A.C., his kingdom had to face an attack of his northeastern adversary, Prithvirāja III (1179-1193 A.C.), the Chāhamāna king of Ajmer. In this encounter Dhārāvarsha, who accompanied his overlord, succeeded in repulsing a nocturnal attack, led by Prithvirāja on him, which is perhaps the same as described in the *Pārthaparākrama-vyāyoga* of his younger brother Prahādāna.⁴

The *Sukṛitakīrtikallōlini* (v.75) of Jayasimha relates that Arpōrāja, the ruler of Bhīmāpalli, broke down the power of the lords of Mēdapāṭa and Chandrāvati. From Sōmēśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī* (II, v. 61) we also learn that the kingdom of this ruler (Bhīma), who was (merely) a boy, was divided among themselves by (his) ministers and feudatories. Connecting both these statements, it has been concluded, by D.C. Ganguly that Dhārāvarsha was one of those who revolted against the Gujarat sovereignty and was subdued by Arpōrāja.⁵ But as far as it appears to me, the conclusion is unwarranted, as it is based on unsound grounds, with reference to Dhārāvarsha; and we can only hold, as already suggested by P. Bhatia, that the chaotic state of affairs could not have allowed the Chandrāvati ruler to resist the temptation of remaining inactive in those days. What actually his action was, is not definitely known.

An inscription of 1193 A.C. and found at Pālaḍi in the Sirōhi District refers to the Chāhamāna Kēlhaṇa, along with his heir-apparent Jaiti and the latter's chief minister Villahāṇa; and in his notice of this record, V.S. Sukthankar presumed that "it is possible that the *Yuvarāja* had been enjoying the country around the village as his *Bhukti*".⁶ On the basis of this suggestion, which is merely tentative, P. Bhatia further guessed that before the date of this inscription, the Chāhamānas had penetrated into the kingdom of the Paramāras as far as Pālaḍi, which is not more than forty miles (sixty-four kms.) straight from (in the north of) Chandrāvati, the capital of Dhārāvarsha.⁷ This conjecture, which is based on another conjecture, has no definite proof in its favour, and thus it does

1 As recorded in Gujarāt chronicles, e.g., in *P.C.M.*, pp. 122 ff.; *Kīrtikaumudī*, Canto II, vv. 47-48; *Sukṛitasamkīrtana*, Canto II, v. 43.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 211, v. 36.

3 *Ibid.*, v. 38.

4 *G.O.S.*, No. IV, p. 3.

5 *H.P.D.*, p. 312. Also see *C.G.*, P. 155.

6 *A.S.I.R.*, W.C., 1916-17, p. 65; *I.N.I.*, No. 425. The inscription is unedited.

7 *P.B.P.*, p. 171.

not necessarily lead us to the conclusion that the Chāhamāna king had really succeeded in capturing the region around Pālaḍi from Dhāravarsha, who was his own son-in-law and was maintaining cordial relations with him, as is known from the battles in which they sided each other. Thus Bhatia's guess is possible but not certain. Subsequent to 1193 A.C. we find a number of inscriptions later than 1193 A.C. mentioning Dhāravarsha from this region,¹ and not showing any loss of his territory.

Dhāravarsha was one of the most distinguished figures of the Indian history, who offered strong resistance to the Muslim invaders in their southward advance in Gujarāt. In 1178 A.C., which is also the year of Bhima's accession to the throne of Gujarāt, Muhammad of Ghūr, who had by this time strengthened his position in the Western Punjab, appeared in Rājasthān, with a strong army. He at once captured Nāḍōl, the capital of the Chāhamānas,² but on reaching Ābū in his further march, he was opposed by the joint forces of Dhāravarsha, Kēlhaṇa, and the latter's brother Kirtipāla. According to the Sundhā hill inscription, the battle was fought at Kāsahrada, identified with the modern Kāyadrā, where we have an inscription of the reign of Dhāravarsha.³ The *Prabandhakōśa* informs us that Dhāravarsha let the invaders advance unmolested into the pass and closed upon them from the rear, and in the front they were attacked by the Gūjaras.⁴ In the struggle that ensued, the Muslim forces suffered heavy casualties; a number of their soldiers were killed and Muhammad was wounded. The Muslims thus lost the field and retreated to Guzni.⁵

The threat of the Muslim invasion, however, did not subside. In order to avenge the defeat sustained at the hands of the Hindus, they resumed their invasion of Western India, under Qutb-ud-din, in 1197 A.C., when they advanced as far as the foot of Mount Ābū. To check their forces, Dhāravarsha again led the army, in co-operation with another leader named Bai Karaṇa, but in spite of this resistance, the Hindus had to suffer on this occasion. For we learn that in the encounter that ensued, they had to lose the field. Anahillapaṭṭana fell in the hands of the invaders. But after plundering the country, they soon retreated, without making any territorial acquisition. It is perhaps the same battle which is alluded to in the *Hamīramadamardana*,⁶ which states that Dhāravarsha and his allies made up their differences with Viradhavala and presented a united front when the Muslims reached the battlefield.

The foregoing account will go to show that Dhāravarsha was not only a powerful ruler but also a courageous and astute military leader of the time, playing an important role in the politics of the country. His administration endeared him to his subjects.⁷ The title *Maṇḍalēśvara-sambhu*, as noted above, reflects on his being a Śaivite in faith. He was also a man of religious temperament, as we know from his gifts to temples and Brāhmaṇas. His Treasury Officer was Kāvīda (or Kōvīda?), who, under his order, made a donation on the festival (*parva*) on the eleventh day of the bright half of Kārttika.⁸

1 For example, our Nos. 73-76.

2 *H.I.E.D.*, Vol. II, p. 294, *E.C.D.*, p. 138.

3 Respectively, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, v. 36; and our No. 67.

4 P. 117. D.C. Ganguly thinks this struggle as different from the one as described in the *Prabandhakōśa*; but I agree with P. Bhatia in holding that it was one and the same struggle. For her views, see *P.B.P.*, p. 176, n. 8.

5 *T.F.*, I, p. 170; *T.N.*, I, p. 516.

6 II, v. 8. D.C. Ganguly thought this battle as taking place in the time of Iltutmish (*H.P.D.*, p. 316), but also see *S.E.*, p. 121, in support of my views.

7 No. 76, v. 9.

8 No. 68, II. 5-8.

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Nāgaṭa was his representative then governing the village of Jhāḍōli.¹ His chief queen was Śrīṅgārādēvi.²

Dhārāvarsha's door-keeper was Haripāla, the son of Narapāla of the Vārivāraḍa lineage. Haripāla's son Sāhaṇapāla constructed the pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) of the Vaidyanātha temple at Vaḍāli in the former Idar State in Gujarāt.³

PRAHLĀDANA

Dhārāvarsha appointed his younger brother Prahlādana as his *Yuvarāja*,⁴ who was highly renowned for his great devotion to learning as well as for his achievements in war. He appears to have predeceased Dhārāvarsha, who was, therefore, succeeded by his son Sōmasimha, whose history is given below.

The *Sōmasaubhāgya*, composed in the latter half of the fifteenth century A.C., mentions Prahlādana as the lord of Arbudāchala. On the evidence of this statement, scholars are inclined to hold that Dhārāvarsha was succeeded on the throne by his brother Prahlādana, who, in his turn, was succeeded by Sōmasimha.⁵ But the trustworthiness of this work of a late date has rightly been questioned,⁶ and even if it is held that Prahlādana occupied the throne, he must have reigned for a short period, say only for a few months. The statement of the *Sōmasaubhāgya* may, of course, be justified in another way also, i.e., by holding that Prahlādana, was associated in government as a *Yuvarāja*, with his elder brother who was then on the throne.

Prahlādanapura, the modern Pālanpur which is headquarters of a sub-division of the same name in Gujarāt, was founded by Prahlādana, as we learn from the *Sōmasaubhāgya*, vv. 13-14.

SŌMASIMHA

c. 1220 to c. 1240 A.C.

Sōmasimha's accession to the throne can be placed between 1219 A.C., the last known date of his father Dhārāvarsha, and 1221 A.C., the Dhāntā inscription of his time.⁷ In addition to the last mentioned inscription, we have four more records to reconstruct the account of his reign. One of them comes from Nāṇā and is dated V.S. 1290 or 1232 A.C., and the other, from Dēokhētar, dated V.S. 1293, corresponding to 1235 A.C. Both are included here (Nos. 78-79). Besides these, there are references about him in two of the inscriptions at Mount Ābū, both dated in 1230 A.C.⁸

1 No. 73, v. 4.

2 No. 70, l. 33; No. 73, v. 3; and No. 76, l. 18. In the first two of these records she is mentioned respectively as *paṭarānī* and *paṭṭa-pranayinī*. No other queen of Dhārāvarsha is mentioned in any other record, though G.H. Ojha in his *Rājputāṇī kā Itihāsa*, Vol. I, p. 177, says that this king had two queens named Gīgādēvi and Śrīṅgārādēvi, of whom the former was the chief queen. The source of his information is not given by Ojha. This view is partially followed by D.R. Bhandarkar and completely by Bhatia (*P.B.P.*, p. 178). But I agree with C.L. Suri in holding that it is possible that in one of these inscriptions Ojha read Gīgādēvi instead of Śīgādēvi (for Śrīṅgārādēvi). For details, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 210.

3 *List of Arch. Remains in Idar State* (Gujarātī), 1936, p. 37.

4 No. 67, l. 6; No. 70, l. 3. About his achievements, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 210, vv. 38-39; and *P.B.P.*, pp. 378 I.

5 *H.P.D.*, p. 317.

6 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 210 ff., where it is also shown how we have to be cautious in utilising statements of this type, e.g. that of *Hamīramadamadana*, which states that Dhārāvarsha and his son Sōmasimha jointly helped Viradhavala in facing the invasion of Iltutmish on Gujarāt. In this connection also see *P.B.P.*, p. 176, n. 8.

7 See No. 197 and No. 77, respectively.

8 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 208 ff. Also see *I.N.I.*, Nos. 487-488.

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The Dhantā inscription mentions his mother Śringāradēvi; and from the expression *-kāle pravartamānē*, just after her name, it is tempting to suggest that she was connected not only with the consecration of the image mentioned therein but probably also with the administration of her kingdom,¹ and if so, her son was a minor who assumed regnal powers.

The Girvaḍ inscription of the time of his grand son Pratāpasimha, V.S. 1344 or 1285-86 A.C., describes Sōmasimha as death to his enemies and compares him with Rāma on account of his bravery and endowments² made by him. This account is corroborated by the Mount Ābū inscription which states that Sōmasimha inherited bravery from his father and learning from his uncle. No specific exploit of this ruler, however, is mentioned in any of these records. He remitted the taxes of the Brāhmaṇas, as we are informed by the Mount Ābū inscription, which has been referred to above.

The Nānā inscription gives Sōmasimha the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, and adds that the place where this record was found was then in possession of a favourite of his heir-apparent Kāṇhaḍadēva (Kṛishṇadēva). This statement probably goes to show that the king had assigned the village to the heir-apparent for his personal expenses, and that the latter entrusted its administration to his own favourite, whose name is lost in the record.

Sōmasimha had to face troubles from Udayasimha, the Chāhamāna ruler of Jālōr, whose known dates range between 1205 and 1257 A.C. and whose kingdom touched the northwestern border of the Paramāra dominions. From the Sundhā hill inscription, referred to above, we learn that this ambitious Chāhamāna ruler succeeded in establishing his sway in the surrounding region, particularly to the east of his kingdom, and also appears to have appropriated some of the northern portions of the Paramāra kingdom, as we know from his inscription found at Bārloṭ.³ This place is not more than 18kms. from Sirōhi, situated in its northwest. The record is dated 1226 A.C.

KRISHNADEVA III

c. 1240 to c. 1260 A.C. (?)

Kṛishṇadēva, or Kṛishṇarājadēva, as he is called in an inscription from Mt. Ābū,⁴ was the son and successor of Sōmasimha. We have no inscription of the time of this ruler. The Girvaḍ stone inscription of the time of his son Pratāpasimha gives him only the conventional praise, stating that he resembled Krishna in intelligence and bravery, but here it is significant to note that this record does not attach any royal epithet to his name, as it invariably does in the case of all the other rulers mentioned therein.

The period of the reign of Kṛishṇadēva, calculated here, is highly conjectural; for it is not even certain when this ruler closed his reign. We have found an inscription at Kalāgara or Kalājarā, dated V.S. 1300 or 1244 A.C., mentioning one *mahārājādhirāja* Ālhaṇadēva ruling over Chandrāvati.⁵ This ruler has not so far been successfully identified, nor have we any definite information to show that he belonged to the family of the Paramāras of Ābū. From circumstantial evidence, it would however appear that this ruler

1 The conclusion is only a probable one and not certain, as unfortunately two important letters after the name of the queen have been peeled off from the stone.

2 No. 82, v. 16.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 33 ff.

4 *I.N.I.*, No. 487.

5 No. 80.

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may either have been placed on the throne of Chandrāvati, as his deputy, by the Chāhamāna Udayasimha, after conquering the place, or he may have been some other prince about whom we have no knowledge.¹

PRATĀPASIMHA

c. 1260 to c. 1285 A.C.

This ruler is mentioned as the son of Krishṇadēva III in the Girvaḍ stone inscription, dated V.S. 1344 or 1285-86 A.C.,² which is the only record of his reign.

The time of the accession of Pratāpasimha is not definitely known. We have seen how the principality of this branch of the Paramāras began to decline during the reign of his grandfather Sōmasimha; and in addition to the Bārloṭ inscription, which shows that the Jālōr Chāhamāna ruler Udayasimha had annexed the northern portion of the modern Sirōhi District, to his kingdom as seen above, we have two more records of his son and successor, Chāchigadēva, from this region, one of which was found at Sundhā³ and the other at Sōnpur,⁴ both testifying to the penetration of the Chāhamānas further in the south. Besides this, Pratāpasimha had also to lose some of his southern territory to the Guhilas of Mēwāḍ. The political instability of the period does not enable us to give a clear picture of the situation of the time, but it is certain that the Guhilas had actually annexed Ābū to their kingdom, as we know from an inscription of Sāmantasimha, dated in 1285 A.C., referring to some repairs carried on by himself and a golden staff created in honour of the god Achalēśvara at that place.⁵

This situation, however, did not last long. For, as we learn from his Girvaḍ inscription, Pratāpasimha recaptured his ancestral dominions from Sāmantasimha with the help of Visala, the governor of the Vāghelā Sāraṅgadēva, after defeating one Jaitrakarṇa, who may have been a regent of the Guhila ruler at that place. Verse 18 of the inscription says that "he (Pratāpasimha) rescued Chandrāvati, which was then immersed in the ocean of the enemies who were overcome by him, as Karṇa was defeated by Arjuna".

After all, Pratāpasimha does not appear to have enjoyed a fairly long reign. He was surrounded by his two enemies, viz., the Guhilas in the southeast and the Chāhamānas of Jālōr in the northwest. The Sundhā hill inscription of the Chāhamāna Chāchigadēva, which we have often referred to above, makes it almost certain that much of the Sirōhi region was about that time annexed to the Chāhamāna kingdom, and it would thus appear that the region around Ābū with its capital Chandrāvati, was finally conquered by them during the reign of Pratāpasimha himself or of his successor, who is so far not known.

Pratāpasimha's minister was Dēhṇa, a Brāhmapa, who rebuilt the Pāṇanārāyaṇa temple, as we learn from the Girvaḍ inscription referred to above. On that occasion the minister distributed food, clothes and some other objects among the Brāhmapas and also encouraged some other royal officers and private persons to make endowments.

The material for the reconstruction of history of this house, after Pratāpasimha is extremely scanty, being limited to two stone inscriptions, the details of which we shall presently discuss. The two records, however, leave no doubt that the house continued to

1 G.H. Ojha, however, thinks that Ālhapadēva, who was probably a Paramāra king, may have ruled between Krishṇadēva III and Pratāpasimha, but being a collateral, his name is omitted in the inscriptions. See *Rāiputānā kā Itihāsa*, p. 179, n. 4.

2 No. 82, v. 17, which only says *tanayas = tatō' bhūt*.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.

4 *A.R.R.M.*, 1910-11, p. 5, No. 13.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

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hold the region around Ābū, at least in some restricted form, till the end of the thirteenth century A.C. when it was finally overthrown, almost simultaneously along with that of the Paramāras of Mālwa.

ARJUNA

c. 1285 to c. 1295 A.C. (?)

The name of this ruler is disclosed by a short inscription from Dhandhapur, a village lying about six kms. west-southwest of Ajaharī and about ten kms. southwest of Kāṇṭal, in the Sirōhi District which also are the find-spots of inscriptions dealt with here. The inscription from Dhandhapur is dated V.S. 1347, corresponding to 1290 A.C., and the relevant portion was read by V.S. Sukthankar as *Paramāra-Pātala-suta-Arjuna*.¹ In course of his notice of the record, Sukthankar held that there is no sufficient reason for identifying this Paramāra Pātala with the Paramāra chieftain Pratāpasimha; but from the provenance of the record, and particularly finding its date to be only three years later than that of Pratāpasimha's inscription, one is tempted to hold that Pātala may perhaps have been a popular name of Pratāpasimha himself; and if it was really so, this ruler may have been succeeded by his son Arjuna.²

The second of the inscriptions referred to above was discovered at Varmān, in the same locality.³ It is dated V.S. 1356 or 1299 A.C., and records some donations made by the wife of Vikramasimha, who is mentioned therein as belonging to some royal family and holding that place in his possession. The inscription does not give the name of the family to which this Vikramasimha belonged, but as shown by its provenance and the date, it is not unlikely that this ruler may have held a part of the kingdom and also may have been a Paramāra scion. After all, as we have already seen above, the region was finally captured by the Chāhamānas towards the close of the thirteenth century A.C.⁴

(ii) Bhinmāl-Kirādū branch

The history of this branch of the Paramāras is known from three stone inscriptions and a copper-plate. Two of the stone inscriptions were discovered at Bhinmāl (Jālōr District), and the third at Kirādū (Bādmār District),⁵ and the copper-plate was found at Rōpi or Rōpsi, a village lying about ten kms. southwest of Bhinmāl.⁶ It is now not available for re-examination.

Of all these documents, it is only the Kirādū inscription, dated V.S. 1218=1161 A.C., that gives the genealogy of the house, as we have seen above; and while studying it, we find that the names of some of the early rulers given in it agree with those occurring in the records of the Ābū branch of the Paramāras, as will be clear from the following table:

Kirādū inscription
(No. 94)

Dharapīdhara

Rōhēḍā plate
(No. 76)

Dharapīvarāha

Vasantagaḍh in-
scription (No. 62)

¹ *A.S.I.R.*, W.C., 1916-17, p. 70; *I.N.I.* No. 627.

² Also see *P.B.P.*, p. 181. The Sundhā Hill inscription describes Chāchigadēva of Jālōr as *chāichai-Pātuka-pātanaika-rasikah* (v. 50), and I agree with D. Sharma in identifying this Pātuka with our Pratāpasimha of Ābū (*E.C.D.*, p. 156). Both Pātuka and Pātala may have been variants of his name.

³ No. 189.

⁴ Also see *E.C.D.*, pp. 175 ff., where D. Sharma summarises the evidence of Naipī's *Khyāt*, Hindi Trans., Pt. I, pp. 120 ff.

⁵ Nos. 92-94.

⁶ No. 91.

INTRODUCTION

Dēvarāja
|
Dhandhūka
|
Kṛishṇarāja

Mahipāla
|
Dhundhuka
|
Kṛishṇadēva

Mahipāla
|
Dhandhuka

It may also be observed here that Dēvarāja of our No. 94 has already been identified above with Mahipāla of Nos. 62 and 76, and the rest of the names, which are the same and also in the same order, are found here only in their slightly changed forms. This clearly shows, as we have already concluded in the opening paragraph of this section, that the Paramāras of Bhīnmāl and Kīrādū constituted only a branch of the dynasty which ruled around Arbudāchala or Mount Ābū, and was not an altogether a separate dynasty, as D.C. Ganguly was inclined to hold.¹

The Kīrādū inscription supplies the names of eleven rulers with their mutual relationship. Three of the names have been lost, but they can be supplied. As seen above, this record begins the genealogy with Sindhurāja, who is not known from any other source and whose successor is said in it to have been Dūsala (or Ūsala?), following the reading *ujvaladdūsalaḥ*, as we have also often remarked. This inscription says that this prince was born in the lineage of Sindhurāja; and thus he was only a successor of Sindhurāja; and not his son, as taken by Ganguly.²

The same scholar identifies Sindhurāja of this inscription with the Sindhurāja of the imperial Paramāra house of Mālwa, and on the basis of this identification, which is merely conjectural, he is inclined to hold that the latter ruler, after his conquest of Mārwaḍ, appointed his son Dūsala to govern that province.³ But besides the fact that we do not know Dūsala as a son of Sindhurāja (as he is not known from any other source), Ganguly's theory also involves chronological difficulties; and in this respect we fully agree with P. Bhatia who has discussed the whole problem at length.⁴

The Kīrādū inscription belongs to a very late period, i.e., to V.S. 1218 or 1161 A.C., and whether a correct account of the succession is kept in that distant period, is doubtful. And as this place is included in the *Maru-maṇḍala*, it is quite natural for the composer of the record to mention the province by this name in preference to Arbuda.

It is also possible that all the names upto Kṛishṇarāja (II), in the Kīrādū record, were merely copied from those of the Chandrāvati rulers, with some additions and alterations here and there. The separate off-shoot of the house holding sway over Bhīnmāl and Kīrādū, sprang only in the reign of Kṛishṇarāja II, after whom we find three new names in the Kīrādū inscription under review. The history of these kings will be related presently.

We have seen that the Rōhēḍā copper-plate mentions Kākaladēva as a son of Kṛishṇadēva, whom we have identified with Kṛishṇarāja of the Kīrādū inscription, which mentions his other son by the name Sōchchharāja. Thus taking Kākaladēva and Sōchchharāja as brothers, the only suggestion that appears plausible is that the former of these rulers, who was ruling at Ābū, may have appointed his (possibly younger) brother Sōchchharāja as a governor at Bhīnmāl when he extended his kingdom to that region; and in course of time, this governor may have made himself independent of his elder brother, as we know from his assuming the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. In holding this view, however, the possibility that Kṛishṇarāja II may have divided his kingdom into two parts,

1 *H.P.D.*, pp. 344 ff. Differing from P. Ganguly and also from P. Bhatia, I prefer to call this branch after Kīrādū and not after Bhīnmāl, since the names of new rulers are mentioned only in the record from the former of these places. And hence I prefer to call it by the joint name as Bhīnmāl-Kīrādū branch.

2 *H.P.D.*, p. 23.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 345.

4 *P.B.P.*, p. 183.

INTRODUCTION

assigning Ābū to Kākaladēva and Bhīnmāl-Kirādū to Sōchchharāja, as suggested by P. Bhatia, cannot be altogether precluded.¹

Coming to study the history of the rulers belonging to this house, we find that the names of only three new rulers are revealed to us by the Kirādū inscription of Sōmēśvara, issued in V.S. 1218 or 1161 A.C. The first of them was the founder of the line and brother of Kākaladēva of the Ābū house, as already seen; and soon after this inscription was recorded, the territory which was held by this branch passed under the control of the Chāhamānas of Jālōr, as we shall see in the end. Thus it is not likely that any more rulers belonged to this branch.

SŌCHCHHARĀJA

c. 1100 to c.1125 A.C.

The period of this ruler has been calculated on the usual average of assigning 25 years to each personage and also considering him as a younger brother of Kākaladēva, who was on the throne of Ābū presumably from 1090 to 1115 A.C.

The Kirādū inscription compares him with *kalpa-druma*, the wish-fulfilling tree, without recording any of his endowments. Nothing more about him is known. He was succeeded by his son Udayarāja.

UDAYARĀJA

c. 1125 to c. 1145 A.C.

This ruler is stated to have been a feudatory (*māṇḍālīka*) of the Chaulūkyā throne.² He is credited with the conquest of Chaudā, Gauḍa, Karpāṭa and the northwestern portion of Mālwa. Shorn of the panegyric boast, this statement appears to mean that Udayarāja participated in the battles of his overlord Jayasīnha-Siddharāja, whose conquest of some of these territories is well known.

SŌMĒŚVARA

c. 1145 to c. 1165 A.C.

Udayarāja was succeeded by Sōmēśvara, who may have been his son. The Kirādū inscription was recorded in his time. A portion of this record which introduces this ruler, is broken and his relationship with his predecessor can only be conjectured.

From the same record we also learn that Sōmēśvara, through the favour of Jayasīnha Siddharāja, regained his ancestral kingdom of Sindhurājapura, in V.S. 1142 A.C. This place, which has not been identified so far, appears to have been founded by Sindhurāja, who is mentioned as the first ancestor of the reigning king in this record; and it may have been another name of Kirātapura or Kirādū, which too is mentioned in it.

Sōmēśvara was a brave prince. He liberated his kingdom, as seen above. The throne had been lost due to some unknown reasons. In V.S. 1198=1141 A.C., through the favour

1 P.B.P., p. 183 f. The former of these views appears to be more probable for we have no instance in history showing that the region conquered later on is placed under a prince who is known as *Mahārājādhirāja* and the one controlling the main region is called only a *Mahārāja*.

2 No. 94, v. 15-A portion of the verse giving the name of the overlord is lost but can be made out from the context. The word *maṇḍālīka*, however is fortunately preserved.

of his imperial overlord Jayasimha,¹ he again obtained the throne, in V.S. 1205 or 1148 A.C., meaning only that he was finally established by Jayasimha's successor, Kumārapāla.² The last of these statements appears to imply, as already suggested by A.K. Majumdar, that the new king Kumārapāla confirmed Jayasimha's feudatory, the Paramāra Sōmēśvara, on the throne.³

Subsequent to this ruler's confirmation by Kumārapāla, the Bhinmāl ruler had again to face some troubles. We have an inscription at Kirādū itself, dated V.S. 1209, corresponding to 1152 A.C., informing us that Ālhaṇa, the Chāhamāna chief of Nāḍol, was ruling at Kirātapura, i.e., Kirādū, which he had obtained through the favour of the Chaulūkyā Kumārapāla.⁴ This statement may probably be taken to mean that Sōmēśvara, who may have incurred the displeasure of his overlord Kumārapāla, for some unknown reasons, was replaced by Ālhaṇa; and on being able to please Kumārapāla again, he was favoured with the paternal throne. The details of some of the events related here are still obscure, and what is more is that the political situation during all this period was changing so fast that we cannot say anything definitely on any of these points, until fresh material is available.

Sōmēśvara is also said to have inflicted a severe defeat on one Jējjaka and captured from him the forts of Tanukōṭṭa (Tanōṭ) and Navasara (Nausar), some time before V.S. 1218 or 1161 A.C. The first of these places is in the modern Jaisalmēr District and the second in the Jōḍhpur District, both situated side by side. After defeating Jējjaka, Sōmēśvara snatched from him 1700 horses, including one, five-nailed and eight golden-crested. In the absence of details, this Jējjaka cannot be identified; he may have been as the circumstances indicate, a subordinate of the contemporary Chāhamāna prince, who was Sōmēśvara's adversary in the northwest.

As to the extent of the Paramāra kingdom in the north, attention may be invited to an inscription found at Pōkaraṇa, the ancient Pushkaraṇa, in the southeastern part of the Jaisalmēr District of Rājasthān. This record, which is dated V.S. 1070 (1012 A.C.), mentions the construction of a temple by Dhanapāla of the Paramāra (Paramāra) dynasty, in commemoration of his father Ghimghaka, who lost his life in a battle.⁵ Both these names, which are mentioned in the record without any regnal title, are otherwise unknown; but from its find spot and in view of the date falling in the reigning period of Dharanivarāha, or his son Dēvarāja, it may be suggested here that Dhanapāla may have been one of Dharanivarāha's brothers among whom, as stated in the bardic account which we have seen above, he divided his kingdom, or as one who died in the battle of the Paramāras at that place. This suggestion, however, cannot be established in the absence of a corroborative evidence.

Not much of this branch of the Paramāras, subsequent to 1161 A.C. when Sōmēśvara issued his royal charter, is known. But the house does not appear to have long survived. An inscription found at Kirādū itself and dated V.S. 1235=1178 A.C. tells us that in that year the place was being governed by the Chāhamāna *Mahārājaputra* Madanabrahmadēva, who was a feudatory of the Chaulūkyā Bhima II.⁶ On the basis of this evidence, it has been suggested that Sōmēśvara may have died without any male issue or it may

1 Verses 19-20.

2 Verse 21.

3 *Chaulūkyas of Gujarat*, pp. 111 and 255.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 43 ff.

5 *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1930, p. 219. Pōkaraṇa is about 180 kms. due north of Bhinmāl, the capital of Dharanivarāha's son Dēvarāja, and about 80 kms. straight northeast of Kirādū, where the inscription No. 82 was found. It is also possible that Kirādū itself, which is situated at a great distance may have been another seat of the branch and altogether distinct from Bhinmāl and Jālōr, which are quite near to each other, separated only by a distance of about 40 kms.

6 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, p. 42.

be that his descendants lost the confidence of the Chaulūkyā overlord.¹ But we cannot here ignore still another possibility viz., that owing to his repeated revolts against the imperial house, as we have seen, Sōmēśvara may have been driven away by his overlord Bhima II and replaced by another of his subordinates who was Madanabrahmadēva.

The Sundhā hill inscription refers to one Āsala, as the ruler of Kirādū, who was wounded by the arrows of Kirtipāla; and from this statement P. Bhatia held that this Āsala may have been a descendant of Sōmēśvara.² The Kirtipāla of this record has been taken by D. Sharma as a Chāhamāna ruler of Jālōr.³ But there is hardly anything to show that Sōmēśvara had a son named Āsala. Moreover, the situation becomes more complicated if we agree with D. Sharma in maintaining Āsala as a successor of Madanabrahmadēva.⁴

With the insufficient data now available, a keen controversy is bound to prevail as to the fall of this house, and the view of D.C. Ganguly, who makes a different observation on the point, may also be mentioned here. From an inscription of V.S. 1239 or 1182 A.C., found at Bhinmāl and mentioning one Jayatsimha and his son Salakha, the learned scholar asserts that the Paramāra Sōmēśvara was succeeded by Jayatsimha (whose relationship we do not know), and the latter by his son Salakha. In support of his theory, Ganguly draws attention to the tale of the Rājput bards describing Jaiti (Jayatsimha), as a Paramāra, ruling in Ābū and a contemporary of the Chaulūkyā Bhima (1178-1239 A.C.)⁵. But as Ganguly himself has admitted, the account of the bards is full of gross inaccuracies;⁶ and even admitting that it may have contained some truth, there appears to be no direct evidence to connect Jaiti of the bards with the Jayatsimha of the inscription. Moreover, whether Jayatsimha and Salakha of the inscription were Sōmēśvara's descendants is also not known. While mentioning both these rulers, the inscription does not give the name of the family to which they belonged. And as far as our conjecture goes, this Jayatsimha seems to have been the son of Kēlhaṇa of the Nāḍōl Chāhamāna dynasty, as already suggested by D.R. Bhandarkar.⁷ Thus the theory admitted by Ganguly too is hardly convincing, though nothing can be definitely said on either side till fresh material is available.

(iii) Jālōr branch

This is still another branch shooting off the main stem of Ābū and called here the Paramāras of Jālōr. We have of course, no epigraphic evidence in support of establishing its relation with the Paramāra house of Ābū, and we have to rely only on Muhaṇḍa Nainsi who records a tradition, according to which, the Paramāras of Jālōr were the descendants of the Paramāras of Ābū.⁸ But we have no evidence in support of this statement.

Our main source of material for reconstructing the history of this house is confined to a stone inscription and a copper-plate. The first of these documents was found at Jālōr and belongs to the time of Visala, the last of the kings mentioned therein, whose queen Mallāradēvī adorned the temple of Sindhurājēśvara with a golden cupola in V.S. 1174 or 1118 A.C. The record gives the genealogy, beginning with Vākpatirāja, the founder of the house and seventh in the lineal ascent from Visala, to whom it is brought down.⁹

1 *P.B.P.*, p. 185.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 185, n.

3 *E.C.D.*, pp. 142 f.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 149.

5 For details, see *H.P.D.*, pp. 348 ff. For the inscription, see No. 95.

6 For example, in mentioning Jaiti as the king of Ābū where Dhāravarsha ruled at least from 1162 to 1227 A.C.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 73.

8 *Khyāt*, Pt. I, p. 252.

9 No. 96.

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The copper-plate, referred to above, is now lost; it gives the same genealogy in the same order, but it furnishes an earlier date for Visala, 1166 or 1109 A.C.¹ This additional evidence pushes back the accession of this king at least by ten years, showing that he flourished about the beginning of the twelfth century A.C.

The genealogy given in these inscriptions is as follows:



When and how this royal house began its career is only a matter of conjecture. Counting back from 1109 A.C., the first known year of Visala, and assigning a period of twenty-five years to each of his predecessors, we may hold that this house began to rule some time in the third quarter of the tenth century, with Vākpatirāja as its founder.

The Vākpatirāja of these inscriptions was indeed different from the homonymous ruler belonging to the Imperial Paramāra house, and who is known to have flourished earlier, towards the close of the tenth century, and who had no son; whereas the present inscription records that he had a son known as Chandana who succeeded him and who was the next known ruler of the house. Thus we are unable to agree with D.C. Ganguly, who upheld that after his conquest of Mārṇād, Vākpatirāja, i.e., Muñja, allotted a portion of his kingdom in that region to his son Chandana.²

According to the calculations made above, Vākpatirāja, the founder of this house, was a contemporary of Dharapīvarāha who belonged to the Ābū branch and to whom we have conjecturally assigned the period from c. 970 to c. 990 A.C. We have also seen how the bardic chronicles state that Dharapīvarāha divided Mārṇād among his nine brothers,³ and if this tradition contains any historical truth, it may be presumed, as Bhatia has already suggested,⁴ that Vākpatirāja was one of these brothers. For the present, we have nothing more to state on this point.

Like the other two branches of the Paramāras of Mārṇād, this branch also appears to have been under the suzerainty of the Chaulūkyas of Gujarāt. The rulers of this house, also like those of the other branches, participated in the military expeditions of their overlords. This information is supplied from the Bijōliā inscription which states that in

¹ *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXVI (1961), p. 164.

² *H.P.D.*, pp. 23 and 52. Also see *P.B.P.*, p. 186.

³ In the account of Dharapīvarāha, above.

⁴ *P.B.P.*, p. 187, n. 1.

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one of his campaigns the Chāhamāna ruler, Vigharāja IV, turned Jālōr into a city of flames.¹ The reason of it is apparent that the contemporary ruler of the Jālōr branch participated in Kumārapāla's war with Vigharāja's father, Arpōrāja. Kumārapāla is also known to have built a temple called *Kumāravihāra* at Jālōr.²

Studying the history of the rulers belonging to this house, we find no details about the first five kings, viz., Vākpatirāja, his son Chandana, his son Dēvarāja, his son Aparājita and his son Vijjala. Vijjala's son was Dhārāvarsha, who is described as a great warrior, compared with Kārtikēya (*Sēnānī*), Pradyumna, and Daksha, all of them known as military leaders and respectively the sons of Śambhu, Hari and Brahmā. None of the specific achievements of this ruler, however, is mentioned in the record. Dhārāvarsha's son, Visala, who set the record, is said to have shown in it the path of righteousness to other kings. This is only a poet's panegyric.

Visala appears to have been the last ruler of this line of the Paramāras. We have evidence to show that subsequent to his reign we find the Chāhamāna Kirtipāla holding sway over this region, as we know from the earliest inscription of his successor Samarasimha, dated in V.S. 1239=1182 A.C.³ And presuming that he must have begun his career some twenty years ago, we get approximately the same date for Kirtipāla as supplied by Visala's inscription.

M. Nainsi informs us that when Kirtipāla of the Sōrigirā branch of the Chāhamānas occupied Jālōr, the ruler at that place was a Paramāra chief named Kuntapāla.⁴ This prince may have been a son of Visala. But in view of the comparison of the dates of the two inscriptions, as seen above, he may have occupied the throne, if at all, only for a few months before the Jālōr branch of the Paramāras became extinct.

B. THE PARAMĀRAS OF VAGĀḌA

This house, which was an off-shoot of the Imperial Paramāra house of Mālwa, rose into prominence some time about the middle of the tenth century A.C., in the territory of Vāgaḍa, now comprised mostly in the districts of Bānswāḍā and Dūngarpur in the southernmost part of Rājasthān. This region forms the north-western boundary of Mālwa proper, from which it is separated by the Māhi river, flowing from its north-east to the south-west. The old name of Vāgaḍa, as found in our inscriptions, is Vyāghradōra, or Vyāghradōraka, some time later corrupted into Bāgiḍōrā, which now stands for the chief town of a *tehsil* in the Bānswāḍā District.⁵ It also appears possible that Vāgaḍa, whatever its origin may have been, was an older name which was later on changed to Vyāghradōra and Vyāghradōraka, with the desire to Sanskritise⁶ it. The region was also known as *sthalī*, which is called a *vishaya*, and vaguely also a *dēśa*, containing 750 villages (*ardhāshṭamaśata*).⁷ The capital of this house was at Arthūpā, also figuring in our inscriptions as Utthapanaka, Utthūnaka and Ārātthūnaka.⁸

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 105, v. 21 of the inscription.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 55.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 52 ff.

4 Nainsi, *Khyāta*, Pt. I, p. 152.

5 For details, see my remarks on the identification of place-names in Nos. 11 and 84.

6 The name Vāgaḍa is found in the *N.S.C.* (Canto X, v. 15) which was composed in Sindhurāja's time, c. 995-1010 A.C., whereas Vyāghradōra, which is its corresponding Sanskrit name, appears in an inscription of 1080 (our No. 84), which belongs to a later period.

7 For example, in No. 84, v. 78; No. 90 vv. 2 and 15, etc.

8 The last of these names was so read by D.R. Bhandarkar in his notice of an inscription in *A.S.I.R., W.C.*, 1908-09, p. 49 (our No. 88). Also see my remarks on his reading, while editing the inscription.

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The princes belonging to this house were all feudatories in status, owing their allegiance to the Imperial Paramāra house of Mālava, with which they claimed a common stock, and resembling the same, they also trace their origin from the altar of the sacrificial fire of the sage Vasishṭha on Mount Ābū.¹ Some of the members of this dynasty are known to have zealously participated in the warfare of their overlords, as to be seen below.

Nine stone inscriptions of the time of this house have so far been discovered. One of them, which is dated V.S. 1116 or 1059 A.C. and thus is the earliest in time, was found at Pānāhēḍā, which is now called Pārāhēḍā, seven at Arthūpā, both of the places now included in the Bānswādā District, and one very recently found at Chitri in the Dūngarpur District. According to the Pānāhēḍā inscription, the founder of this house was Ḍambarasimha, a younger brother of Vairisimha, who following the chronology proposed here for the first time, seems to have been on the throne of Mālava from c. 925 to c. 945 A.C.² The genealogical and chronological tables of this dynasty are given below, in the genealogical tables. The number of years assigned to each of the rulers of the house is purely tentative, calculated on the basis of giving 25 years to each of the generations and, in rare cases, making some alterations as necessitated by our study of the political circumstances of the time.

With these general remarks, now we proceed to study the history of the individual rulers belonging to this house.

DAMBARASIMHA

c. 930 to c. 955 A.C.

One of the Arthūpā inscriptions describes this king as a powerful ruler curbing his enemies, possessing a charming personality, and earning wide fame.³ This conventional praise only shows, although there is no evidence to prove it, that he sided his brother Vairisimha in his warfare, and by the strength of his arms, acquired the region round about Arthūpā, where he established himself as a ruler. This appears to have taken place some time about the second quarter of the tenth century A.C.

On the other hand, the Pānāhēḍā inscription of V.S. 1116, which is the earliest known record of the house, begins the genealogy with Dhanika, whose identity has long back been suggested by D.R. Bhandarkar, with Ḍambarasimha himself.⁴ Bhandarkar's suggestion is corroborated by the account that follows in both these inscriptions. For, whereas the first of them states that Dhanika was succeeded by his brother's son Chachha, in the second we find the mention of Ḍambarasimha and then of Kaṅka or Kakkadēva; and when Chachha or Kaṅkadēva (also Kakkadēva) appears to be identical from the description found in both the inscriptions, as to be seen below in the proper place, Dhanika and Ḍambarasimha are also identical:

1. See Nos. 84, 85 and 88, vv. 3 ff. in each of them.

2. While editing the inscription in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 297 ff., Barnett thought that Vairisimha seems to be Vairisimha I, and in this respect he is followed by D.C. Ganguy and P. Bhatia, for which, see, respectively, *H.P.D.*, p. 337, and *P.B.P.*, p. 190. But considering the dates of the Pānāhēḍā and the Arthūpā records (Nos. 83 and 84) and comparing them with that of Styaka II (Nos. 1-2), it appears more likely to hold that Ḍambarasimha was the younger brother of Vairisimha II, as has long back been suggested by Kielhorn in his notice of the inscription in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 80, and also by D.R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions* in the *Ep. Ind.* This question, however, does not arise in the present case as we have taken only one ruler of the name Vairisimha and Styaka.

3. No. 84, vv. 15-16.

4. In the genealogical table accompanying his *List of Inscriptions* in the *Ep. Ind.*, p. 308, n. 1.

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Dhanika built a Śiva temple near that of Mahākāla at Ujjain. This temple is called as Dhanēśvara, after his name.¹

CHACHCHA, OR KANKA,

c. 955 to c. 970 A.C.

Dambarasimha *alias* Dhanika was succeeded by his nephew, whose name is mentioned as Chachcha in the Pānāhēdā inscription and as Kaṅka in the Arthūpā inscription of V.S. 1136.² That he was a nephew of Dhanika is known from the former of these inscriptions, whereas the latter only uses the expression 'in his lineage' (*tadanvayē*). Again, the former of these records mentions him as a *Mahānripa*, a brave warrior skilled in warfare, and adds that he actively participated in Siyaka's struggle against (the Rāshtrakūṭa king) Khōṭṭiga at Khalighaṭṭa on the Narmadā, where he died a hero's death. The same incident is repeated in the latter of these records, only with difference in names, putting Śriharsha, the Mālava king, instead of Siyaka, and the king of Karpāṭa for Khōṭṭiga. As we already know, it is one and the same incident referring to the well known battle that was fought between the Paramāra Siyaka and the Rāshtrakūṭa Khōṭṭiga, in 971-72 A.C. and this may be taken as the year of Kaṅka's death, which, probably, also cut short his career.

CHANDAPA

c. 970 to c. 1000 A.C.

Kakka or Kaṅka was succeeded by his son Chandapa, who is known to us only from the Arthūpā inscription referred to above. The Pānāhēdā inscription has a lacuna while mentioning him, in which his very name seems to have been lost. Nothing definite is known about this ruler; the Arthūpā inscription states that he was glorious and his wide fame was sung by the Kinnaras.

SATYARĀJA

c. 1000 to c. 1025 A.C.

Chandapa was succeeded by his son, Satyarāja, in c. 1000 A.C. He was a contemporary of his overlords Sindhurāja and the illustrious Bhōjadēva both of the house of Dhārā. The Arthūpā inscription extolls him only in a conventional way, but the Pānāhēdā record goes on to state that he received his fortune through the favour of Bhōjadēva, in whose struggle with the Gūrjaras he is also said to have participated actively. This statement evidently refers to Bhōja's encounter with his contemporary who was on the throne of Gujārāt viz., Bhīmadēva I, in whose time the Mālava army is known to have sacked his kingdom.

Verse 23 of the Arthūpā inscription of V.S. 1136 states in a poetic way that Satyarāja drove away his enemies into the forest. This statement may probably be taken as referring to his help to his overlord Sindhurāja, who is known to have wrested the northern portion of Vāgaḍa, which was then included in the kingdom of the Guhilas.³

¹ This temple goes by the same name even to-day.

² Verse 27 and vv. 17-19 of the respective documents. In his genealogical table in the *List of Inscriptions*, D.R. Bhandarkar was inclined to think that both these names were synonymous and corresponded to the Hindi Kākā (for Kaṅka or Kakka,) and Chāchhā (for Chachchadēva).

³ *H.P.D.*, p. 78. Also see *N.S.C.*, Canto X, v. 15, where the name Vāgaḍa is used.

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Satyarāja's wife was Rājāsri, a Chāhamāna princess, who is compared in the inscription with Dēvaki, the mother of Śrīkṛishṇa. From her, Satyarāja had a son named Limbarāja, who succeeded him.

LIMBARĀJA

c. 1025 to c. 1040 A.C.

Nothing about the political incident of this king is known. The Pānāhēdā inscription describes him as a great warrior, without mentioning any specific exploit of his, and adds that he was well versed in politics (*naya-vinaya-mahā-paṇḍita*). He seems to have ruled only for a short period; and probably due to his short reign and also perhaps due to his being a collateral, he is passed over in the Arthūpā record of his nephew, Chāmunḍarāja.

MAṆḌALĪKA, OR MAṆḌANADĒVA

c. 1040 to c. 1070 A.C.

Limbarāja was succeeded by his younger brother Maṇḍalika, as the name appears in his Pānāhēdā inscription, dated V.S. 1116(1059 A.C.), or Maṇḍanadēva, as in the Arthūpā inscription. Both the records agree in stating that he was brave, valorous, learned and of handsome appearance, and the former of them supplies an additional information that he captured the great commander-in-chief Kanha, with his horse and elephant, in a battle, and handed him over to Jayasīṃha,¹ who was evidently his overlord and the successor of Bhōjadēva. The identity of Kanha still remains unestablished, though he appears to have been a Chaulūkyā or a Kalachuri general against whom Jayasīṃha is known to have waged war.

Maṇḍalika's exploit in capturing Kanha is also repeated in another inscription from Arthūpā, dated in V.S. 1166 or 1109 A.C.² But the version in it is different; it says that Maṇḍalika killed Kanha. This statement was recorded about fifty years later, and as such, appears to be worthy of less credence. This inscription also states that Maṇḍalika killed one Sindhurāja. The identity of this enemy of Maṇḍalika has not so far been established, like that of Kanha. But it is not possible to take him as the same ruler who was the father of Bhōjadēva and who was on the throne towards the close of the eleventh century, for, besides chronological difficulties, here we have also to remember that the house to which this Maṇḍanadēva belonged was throughout loyal to that of Dhārā, as we have been seeing.

As for the death of Sindhurāja, whereas the Arthūpā record gives the credit of killing him to Maṇḍalika, as just seen, in an earlier inscription from the same place and dated V.S. 1136 or 1080 A.C., this credit is given not to Maṇḍalika but to his son Chāmunḍarāja.³ And to reconcile both these statements, we may hold that Chāmunḍarāja, as a prince, may have assisted his father in the latter's expedition against Sindhurāja. This is only how the discordant statements can be explained.

The Arthūpā inscription of the time of Vijayarāja, dated V.S. 1166 or 1109 A.C., records an additional statement, viz., that Maṇḍalika destroyed the army of the lord of Avanti, in Sthali, i.e., in Vāgaḍa.⁴ As seen above, the Vāgaḍa ruler was devotedly attached

1 No. 83, v. 36 (37).

2 No. 90, v. 2.

3 No. 84, v. 55. The description is all figurative.

4 No. 90, v. 2. "Yo vanti-prabhu-sādhanaṇi v(b)ahuśō hantisma dēśe sthalaṇi".

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to his feudal lord Jayasimha, and in view of this, the statement of the Arthūpā inscription has to be interpreted only as referring to the calamity befalling the main branch subsequent to the death of Bhōjadēva when the throne was claimed by some adversaries of Jayasimha, about whom we know nothing. The *Avanti-prabhu* who is referred to in the inscription may have been Udayāditya, who too was then contesting for the throne; or he may have been any other claimant.

The kingdom of Maṇḍalika seems to have been bordered on the north by that of the Chāhamānas of Nāḍol, and he appears to have come into a conflict with Prithvipāla, who was his contemporary on the Chāhamāna throne. This is suggested by D. Sharma while publishing a fragmentary grant of the latter dynasty. One of the verses of this grant states that "the subjects of Maṇḍalika, struck with spearheads by Prithvipāla's troops, left far away their shame, sons, wives as well as property, and fled away in all directions".¹ This account, however, is not corroborated by any other evidence. It appears to have been a boundary skirmish.

Maṇḍalika built a Śiva temple at Pāṃsulākhēṭaka, i.e., Pānāhēḍā. This place is about 15 kms. due northeast of the capital town of Arthūpā. The king also made arrangements for the maintenance of the shrine. The end of his reign may conjecturally be placed in about 1070 A.C., when he was succeeded by his son Chāmuṇḍarāja.

CHĀMUṆḌARĀJA

c. 1070 to c. 1105 A.C.

For the reign of Chāmuṇḍarāja we have five inscriptions, all of which were found at Arthūpā. Four of them are dated respectively in V.S. 1136, 1137, 1159 and 1159, and one, which is fragmentary, does not show any date.² The date of the earliest of these inscriptions is equivalent to 1080 A.C., and that of the latest to 1101 A.C. The period of this reign is only conjectural. For, whereas according to our calculations this king began his political career some ten years prior to the first of these dates, on the other hand, it also appears possible that his father, Maṇḍanadēva, may have continued to be on the throne for some years more than calculated here.

Of all the records mentioned above, it is only the first that furnishes some details as to the political career of this king. It states that he obtained glory by overcoming Sindhurāja (v. 55), who appears to have been a ruler of Sindh, as already seen above, while narrating the account of his father. From the same inscription we also learn that this ruler "established religion in an unprecedented degree and also displayed rich bounties to Brāhmanas" (vv. 62-65).

The Arthūpā inscription, referred to above, devotes as many as twenty stanzas to extoll this ruler, but they are all figurative, giving him only the conventional praise which purports to say that he was a great warrior, a skilled bowman vanquishing his foes in battles, handsome, etc., etc.

Chāmuṇḍarāja was a devout worshipper of Śiva. He built a temple of Maṇḍanēśa (v. 66), apparently to commemorate his father's name, and established some imposts for defraying the expenses of its worship.³ He also donated land in some of the neighbouring villages, rice-fields and a town, probably Pānāhēḍā itself.

1 *E.C.D.*, p. 128; for text, see p. 190, ll. 17-18. The battle was fought at Rōhēḍā, apparently identical with the same place, the name of which is variously spelt. It is not more than a hundred kms. south west of Arthūpā, the capital of Maṇḍalika, who thus appears to have taken the offensive.

2 Nos. 84-88.

3 In this connection, see my remarks in the edition of the inscription.

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The Arthūpā inscription of V.S. 1137 mentions under him an officer, whose name is lost, but we are told that he had three sons whose names were Āsarāja, Bhavyāsarāja and Anantapāla. The last of these persons also, who too was an officer, built a Śiva temple at that place. The first of these persons was the collector of taxes in the kingdom. From another Arthūpā inscription we learn that Chāmūṇḍarāja appointed six members of a family to some important posts in his kingdom; they were all brothers.¹

VIJAYARAJA

c. 1105 to c. 1110 (?)

Vijayarāja was the son and successor of Chāmūṇḍarāja. We have two inscriptions of his reign; one of them was dated in V.S. 1165 or 1108 A.C. and the other a year later. Both these records mention the performance of some pious deeds and refer to the name of the king only incidentally; the first of them, however, adds that Vijayarāja was a brave soldier who conquered his enemies, and also that he earned wide fame.² But none of the incidents of his reign is mentioned therein, with this vague praise.

As mentioned in the latter of these inscriptions, his minister for peace and war was Vāmana, the son of Rājapāla who was a Kāyastha belonging to the Vālabha (from Valabhi) lineage.³

No political event of the reign of Vijayarāja has so far been known; nor do we have any information regarding the termination of his reign, or about his successor. In fact, we have no inscription of this house subsequent to his reign. We have, however, some means to enable us to hold that the career of his house came to an end soon after he closed his reign. A stone inscription, found at Thākardā in the Dūngarpur District of Rājasthān and dated V.S. 1212 = 1155 A.C., mentions the gift of some land by the prince Anayasimha, during the reign of his father, the *Mahārāja* Śūrapāla, who was the son of the *Mahārāja* Vijayapāla, the grandson of the *Mahārāja* Tribhuvanapāla and the great-grandson of the *Mahārāja* Prithvipāla, *alias* Bhartripaṭṭa.⁴ It is thus evident that in 1155 A.C. the region which was formerly under the sway of the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa was being administered by one Śūrapāla whose family is not mentioned in the record, but which, from the genealogy given in it, was different from that of Vijayarāja. The names of the first three of these rulers also occur in the same order in the Ingnōḍā inscription, with the same title of *Mahārājādhirāja* applied to each of them; and while editing the latter of these inscriptions we find that this house, which appears to have formerly owed its allegiance to the Paramāras of Mālava, declared independence when the kingdom of their overlords was attacked by Siddharāja Jayasimha.⁵ Considering this situation, it does not appear altogether impossible that the contemporary Ingnōḍā ruler, who appears to have been Vijayapāla who issued the record of V.S. 1190 = 1133 A.C., changed over to Jayasimha side, on this occasion, and as his subordinate ally, he also participated in his warfare. It appears almost certain that after his conquest of the kingdom of the Paramāras of Mālava, Jayasimha also overran the territory of their kinsmen who were the feudatory chiefs of Vāgaḍa, and he successfully proceeded up to Talwāḍā in the Bāṅswāḍā District, where we have his inscription.⁶ And as usually happens in such cases, in the course of

1 No. 85.

2 No. 90, v.3.

3 *Ibid.*, v. 29.

4 *A.R.R.M.*, 1915-16, p. 3. Thākardā is about 7 kms. straight north by west of Sagwāḍā, now the headquarters of a *tehsil* in the district, and about 30 kms. south east of Dūngarpur itself.

5 No. 158.

6 *A.R.R.M.*, 1914-15, p. 2; *ibid.*, 1929-30, pp. 2. For further occupation of Vāgaḍa country, see *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXV (1959), pp. 10 ff.

this venture the Īṅṇōḍā ruler, in his westward march, penetrated into the country of Vāgaḍa up to Thākardā, which is only about 125 kms. due west of Rīṅṇōḍ (Īṅṇōḍā), the find-spot of the inscription of Vijayapāla, and defeated Vijayarāja or his successor, seizing from him the throne.

Thus we find that the Vāgaḍa house of the Paramāras met its tragic end in about the middle of the twelfth century A.C., almost at the same time when the kingdom of Mālava was annexed to Gujarāt, during the reign of Siddharāja Jayasinha.¹

THE CHANDĒLLAS OF JĒJĀ-BHUKTI

The Chandēllas were one of the great Hindu dynasties that reigned in North India just prior to the establishment of Islām, as an imperial power in the country. Making an humble beginning as the feudatories of the Gūjara-Pratihārās, they achieved sovereign status in course of time. They are known to have ruled from about the middle of the ninth to the end of the thirteenth century, and had often to bear the brunt of the incessant attacks of the Turks in which they fared gloriously though ultimately had to succumb to them, like the other royal dynasties of the time. But what is most remarkable about their contribution is that they gave to the country a well-organised political system, due to which their territory enjoyed a high level of prosperity.

The region over which the Chandēllas ruled was known, according to the inscriptions, as Jējābhukti, Jējābhuktika or Jējākabhukti, which owed its origin to Jējā (Jayaśakti), one of the two grandsons of Nannuka, the first known person of the royal house. He is also mentioned as Jējā and Jējāka in our inscriptions, which tell us that this ruler gave his name to the country, as Prithvi was known after Prithu.²

Cunningham has noted that Jējābhukti was called Chi-ki-to by the Chinese traveller Hieun-Tsang who visited India in the seventh century (641-42 A.C.), and that this name was changed to Jijhōti, after which the Jijhōtiā Brāhmaṇas and Baniyās are known.³ He has also remarked that Jējākabhukti was shortened into Jijhōti in the same way as Tirabhukti became modern Tirhut. This would mean that Jijhōti was an earlier name, current in the seventh century A.C. when the Chinese pilgrim visited the place, and thus it cannot be admitted that it came in use after the name of Jējā (Jayaśakti) who flourished later in the ninth century. However, as remarked by some scholars, it appears possible that the name Jējābhukti was a Sanskritised form of an older name like Jijhōti, Jajhaōti, Jējāhuti⁴ or Chi-ki-to of Hieun-Tsang.

The territory under the sway of the Chandēlla monarchs occupied more or less the same area which coincides with the modern Vindhya Pradesh or Bundelkhand. To be more precise, as V. Smith has already pointed out, it includes "the districts of Hamirpur, Banda, Lalitpur (a sub-division of Jhānsi), with parts of Allahābad and Mirzāpur in the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh), the Sāugor and Damōh districts in the Central Provinces, and a large intermediate space, which under the British rule, was occupied by a number of small native States".⁵

The earliest capital of the house was Khajurāhō (Lat. 25 N; Long. 75 E.), which is also mentioned as Kharjūravāhaka in our inscriptions.⁶ Some time later, the capital

1 *E.C.D.*, p. 130.

2 No. 113, 1.6.

3 *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 58.

4 See *E.R.K.*, p. 4.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 130. Also see *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 77 ff.

6 No. 114, 11. 32-33. It is called Kajurāhah by Abu Rihān, Kajurā or Kajarrā by Ibn Batūtā, and Kajurāha by Albirūnī. See *E.R.K.*, p. 3, n. 16. The first and the third of these chroniclers also mention it as the capital of the region. For the tradition in this respect, see *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 79.

SCALE OF KNOWLEDGE



REFERENCES

SPOT OF STONE INSCRIPTION.

SPOT OF COPPER PLATE

MENT OR SANSKRITISED NAMES IN RED

...to block

Modern district headquarters.....●

MANDALA _____

VISHAYA..... V

PATTALA.....

was shifted to Mahōbā (Mahōtsavanagara), which was one of the strongholds of these rulers, along with Ajamgaḍh (Pannā Dist.) and Kālāñjar (Bāndā Dist.) in Uttar Pradesh. But these kings always took pride in calling themselves as the lords of Kālāñjara (*Kālāñjarādhipati*).

Our inscriptions claim that the race of the Chandēllas sprung from the Moon.¹ In their copper-plate charters they are said to belong to the family of Chandrātrēya. The Baṭeśvara stone inscription which belongs to a later time, however, goes a step further to state that they are the descendants of the (mythical) sage Chandrātrēya, who was the son of the Moon.² In some of our records, the earliest of which is the Khajurāhō inscription of Yaśovarman, the mythical origin of the Chandēllas is described at length as having sprung from the Primordial Being, the Creator of the Universe (*Viśva-śṛik Purāṇa-puruṣha*), through Atri and other sages, down to the sage Chandrātrēya.³

Kielhorn read the name *Chandrēlla* in one of the Dudāhi inscriptions of Dēvalabdhī and took it to be a derivative by adding the Prakrit suffix *illa*, to *Chandra*, the moon, giving another example of the type, namely, *Bhāilla* from *bhās*: and he suspected that the name Chandrātrēya is really its later Sanskritised form.⁴ The word also appears in its variants as Chamdēlla, Chandēla, etc., in the inscriptions.⁵

The tradition according to which this race was born from the Moon is recorded in the *Mahōbā Khaṇḍa* of *Prithvirāja Rāsō*, by Chanda Bardāi, who was a friend and contemporary of Prithvirāja Chauhan (1180-1191 A.C.). It purports to say that Hēm-rāj, the *purōhit* of the Gāhaḍavāla king Indrajit, had a daughter named Hēmavati, and one day when she went to bathe in the *Rātī talāo*, she was seen and embraced by Chandramā (the Moon), who favoured her with the boon: "your son will be born on the Karnaḍati river; then take him to Khajurāhō.... In Mahōbā (Mahōtsavanagara) he will reign and will become a great king. Thus shall your dishonour be effaced when you are without a husband". But Shyam Sunder Das, who edited the work, doubted the authorship of the *Mahōbā Khaṇḍa*, and, as he held, this particular *Khaṇḍa* was not composed earlier than the seventeenth or eighteenth century of the Vikrama era, much later in point of time than the other parts of the *Rāsō*.⁶ Reference to this legend has already been made by A. Cunningham and H.C.⁷ Ray, but V.A. Smith has rejected it as a "silly legend".⁸ As it is not mentioned in any of the official charters that have come down to us, it appears to be a later fabrication. Considering the whole problem, it is safe to hold that the real origin of the ruling dynasty of the Chandēllas fell into oblivion, like that of the many other Rājput dynasties, and its description as having descended from the Moon is merely a myth, devised to contribute to its greatness.

The home-land of the Chandēllas is not mentioned in any of our inscriptions. It appears to have been Bundelkhand itself throughout which they had spread. The find-spots of the inscriptions also indicate the same. The country was, however, later on known as Bundelkhand, after the Bundēllas who inhabited it subsequently.

The first person mentioned in the genealogical list is Nannuka. He is said to have been the founder of the Chandēlla dynasty. No record of his time has so far been discovered. The Khajurāhō inscriptions dated V.S. 1011 = 953-54 A.C. and V.S. 1059 = 1002 A.C.

1 No. 113, v. 5; No. 145, v. 2.

2 No. 139, v. 3.

3 No. 98, vv. 6-8; No. 114, v. 9.

4 No. 102. For Kielhorn's remarks, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII. For my reading, see the inscription.

5 Nos. 108 and 111, respectively.

6 Benares edn. (1913), by Mohanlal Pandia and Shamsundar Das, p. 2. The work reads more like a romance than history and is full of absurdities, for which, see *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LV (1887), p. 5 ff. and *J.B.A.S.*, 1927, pp. 203 ff.

7 See, respectively, *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, pp. 445 f. and *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 665.

8 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 136 f.

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mention him as king (*nripa*) and great king (*mahā-nripa*) respectively,¹ without specifying any events of his reign. In the first of these records he is figuratively described as "a touch-stone to test the worth of the gold of the regnal order" and "one who playfully decorated the faces of the women who were the quarters, with the sandal of his fame". Another verse describes him as the conqueror of many hosts of enemies.² The second of the inscriptions refers to him as a brave man whose skill in the use of bow and arrows in killing the enemies reminded people of (the Epic hero) Arjuna.³ These descriptions are all in vague terms, no specific exploit of his being mentioned therein.

The account preserved in the folk-ballads do not make any mention of Nannuka but refer to Chandravarman as the founder of the dynasty. This led H.C. Ray to suggest that from Chandramā, as it is used in the *Mahōbā-khaṇḍa* of the *Rāsō*, Chandravarman might have been the *biruda* of Nannuka.⁴ This suggestion is possible but not certain, as we have no evidence in support of it.

The first recorded date of the house is V.S. 1011 or 954 A.C. when the Khajurāhō stone inscription of Yaśovarman was set up. Counting back from this date at the rate of 10 to 25 years per reign for six predecessors of this king, Cunningham held that Nannuka, the founder of the house, flourished in about 831 A.C.⁵ This view is accepted by V. Smith and H.C. Ray;⁶ and following it, we may conjecturally take the period of the founder, to be from *circa* 820 to about 840 A.C. Smith's assertion that this ruler must have enjoyed some sort of sovereign power, as indicated by the epithets *nripa* and *mahā-nripa* of the inscriptions, can hardly be upheld, since these epithets are used often to denote even feudatories and sometimes even minor chiefs and *jāgirdārs*. Similarly, we have no evidence to agree with the assertion of H.C. Ray that Nannuka was at best a petty feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II (815-33 A.C.).⁷ I therefore agree with S.K. Mitra in suggesting that during the time when the Pratihāras were busy fighting with their rivals, the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Pālas, Nannuka, who was a brave and courageous man, appears to have carved out a principality for himself,⁸ somewhere near Khajurāhō, which led down to the foundation of a mighty empire. It is, however, difficult to imagine that this ruler or his successor must have continued to rule as an independent king for long and therefore he must have been subjugated by any of the contending powers leading military incursions in one another's territories. More on this point will be stated below.

VĀKPATI

c. 840 to c. 860 A.C.

Vākpati was the successor of his father Nannuka. The Khajurāhō inscription of V.S. 1011 represents him, as a powerful king (*kshatipa*) and a skilled bowman, reminding us of Arjuna, and also as possessing power of speech like his namesake Vākpati or Bṛhaspati (v.12). No specific exploit of this ruler is mentioned in any of the records. Verse-13 of the same inscription states that "Vindhya became the pleasure-mount (*kriḍā-giri*) of Vākpati where he was entertained by the Kirāta women". This statement is interpreted by H.C. Ray to mean that "Vākpati succeeded in extending to some degree the limits of his ancestral principality".⁹ But as some of the ranges of the Vindhyas actually fell

1 No. 98, v. 10; and No. 114, v. 14, respectively.

2 No. 98, vv. 10-11.

3 No. 114, v. 15.

4 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 667 ff.

5 *C.A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, pp. 445 ff.

6 *J.A.S.B.*, 1881, letters, p. 5; and *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 667, n. 4, respectively.

7 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 667 f.

8 *E.R.K.*, pp. 29 f.

9 For Ray's opinion, see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 669. Also see *E.R.K.*, pp. 30 ff.

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in the territory under Vākpati in Bundelkhand itself the statement of the epigraph need not be interpreted as done by Ray.

In a later inscription Vākpati is said to have removed the apprehension of his subjects, by his heart polished by learning and political foresight.¹ This statement appears to mean that he endeavoured to maintain peace in his kingdom and defend it against external dangers.

JAYAŚAKTI and VIJAYAŚAKTI

c. 860 to c. 890 A.C.

Vākpati had two sons Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti,² or Jējāka and Vijjāka.³ The variants of these names are also found as Jējā and Vijā. Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti appear to have been the Sanskritised forms of the originals, as mentioned here. Both these brothers are always mentioned together and this may show that both were almost simultaneously engaged in consolidating their kingdom. Both are also said to have possessed matchless vigour.⁴

One of the Khajurāhō inscriptions tells us that Vijayaśakti rendered competent help to a friend of his in his campaign in the South.⁵ Out of the two great powers who were in the North at that time, the Pratihāras are not known to have launched any expedition in the South. On the other hand, we have evidence to show that Dēvapāla (c. 810-850 A.C.) of the Pāla dynasty, who was presumably a contemporary of Vijayaśakti, led his victorious arms as far as the extreme south of India;⁶ and it is possible to hold, as already suggested by R.C. Majumdar,⁷ that the Chandēlla chief, Vijayaśakti, may have joined the Pāla king in the latter's campaign against the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler Amōghavarsha. The same scholar further suggested that the Chandēllas had helped Dēvapāla in his fight against Bhōja (Pratihāra) and were rewarded, after the latter's defeat, with the sovereignty of the territory near Khajurāhō, perhaps under the suzerainty of Dēvapāla. This view, though not supported by any evidence, appears to be plausible; and conjecturally it may be held as there is no other theory in the field. With the disintegration of the Pāla empire subsequent to the reign of Dēvapāla and with the consequent triumph of the Pratihāra kingdom, however, the Chandēllas may have changed their allegiance from the former to the latter dynasty, and thus we find Vijayaśakti's great-grandson Yaśovarman acknowledging his allegiance to the Pratihāra ruler Vināyakapāla, as we shall presently see. Be whatever it may, Vijayaśakti endeavoured to stabilise his kingdom by establishing peace and order in it, along with his brother, and this is why reference to both these brothers is made in the beginning of all the charters of the family.

RĀHILA

c. 890 to c. 910 A.C.

Vijayaśakti was succeeded by his son Rāhila, who is described as a brave king killing his enemies in battle;⁸ but nothing specific is mentioned in this respect. He appears

1 No. 114, v. 17.

2 No. 97, l. 6.

3 No. 113, v. 11, and No. 98, v. 14, respectively.

4 No. 98, v. 15.

5 No. 114, v. 20.

6 His Bīdal pillar inscription; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 305; also see *A.I.K.*, p. 51.

7 *H.B.*, Vol. I, p. 119, n. 4. This is not accepted by some scholars, for which, see *E.R.K.*, p. 31. It is possible only if we assume that Vijayaśakti began a little earlier and also that Dēvapāla continued to rule over, after 850 A.C., which is not certain. See *A.I.K.*, p. 56, n. 39.

8 No. 98, v. 17; No. 114, vv. 24-25.

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to have been a man of pacific disposition. He is vaguely alluded to in the Khajurāhō inscription as a brave king whose very name does not allow his enemies to enjoy sleep.¹ The historic events of his time are not known.

However, this peace-loving ruler took interest in public works. For example, he excavated tanks and constructed temples, the remnants of which are still visible at Ajaygaḍh and Mahōbā, a tank at the latter place which is still called the *Rāhila-sāgara*, some old fortifications and the remains of a temple of the Chandēlla type, as noted by A. Cunningham.² Thus his kingdom extended from Ajaygaḍh in the east to Mahōbā on the west.

Rāhila's reign terminated some time about 910 A.C. He was succeeded by his son Harsha.

HARSHA

c. 910 to c. 930 A.C.

This king is described in an inscription from Khajurāhō as "an abode of truthfulness, merits and valour, the most excellent ruler who was afraid to offend against law (*dharma*), repository of wealth (*Śrī*) and learning (*Sarasvatī*) and a fervent devotee of Vishṇu (*Madhuripu*)".³ According to the Nanyaurā plate of his grandson Dhaṅga, he was a mighty comet boding evil to the host of his enemies and inspiring fear by his terrific arrays of troops who had made tributary (to himself other sovereigns).⁴ Another Khajurāhō inscription tells us that he protected the whole earth after subduing his adversaries.⁵ None of these conventional statements contain any specific achievement of this ruler; but as we shall see below, he was really an important figure in the contemporary history.

It is from the time of Harsha that the Chandēllas began to take part in the imperial affairs of the Pratihāras. A fragmentary Khajurāhō inscription represents him as placing Kshitipālādēva on the throne.⁶ The latter was the imperial Pratihāra ruler, generally identified with Mahipāla, the son of Mahēndrapāla, whose last known date is 907-08 A.C.,⁷ and following whose reign a war of succession broke out between his sons Bhōja II and his step-brother Mahipāla.⁸ It was almost at the same time that the Rāshtrakūṭas renewed their invasion in which Indra III occupied Kanauj, the capital city, and Mahipāla "fled, as if struck by a thunderbolt, staying neither to eat, nor rest, nor pick himself up".⁹ But soon after the return of the invading army, Mahipāla succeeded in re-establishing the fortunes of his family; and probably this is the incident when the Chandēlla ruler helped him in regaining the throne, as implied by the expression *punaḥ* in l. 10 of the Khajurāhō inscription referred to above.¹⁰

1 No. 98, v. 16.

2 See *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 441; *ibid.*,

3 No. 98, vv. 19-20.

4 No. 100, vv. 1-2.

5 No. 114, v. 24.

6 No. 97, l. 10. Hoernle took this achievement applicable to Yaśovarman (*J.R.A.S.*, 1904 p. 654), and the same view is held also by some other scholars who guess that still another name, which can be only that of Harsha's son Yaśovarman, may have been mentioned in the following lines and it is this ruler who is spoken of here (*S.I.H.C.*, p. 10). But it seems more correct to identify this ruler with Harsha, for which, see *H.K.*, p. 257, n. 1.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff.

8 For the contrary view, see *C.I.L.*, Vol. IV, pp. lxxiii f., where it is also held that this Bhōja must be identified with Bhōja I and also that there is no sufficient evidence to show that there was a war of succession.

9 *R.T.T.*, pp. 101-102; *J.D.L.*, Vol. X, p. 66.

10 See *A.I.K.*, p. 34; *H.K.*, p. 257, n. 1. Tripathi's ingenuous suggestion that the word *punaḥ* here means "further or besides or now" is rather far-fetched, in view of the tenor of the verse which is fragmentary. For details and for the contrary view, see our edition of the inscription (No. 97).

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The same view is expressed by R.C. Majumdar,¹ but it has been questioned by R.S. Tripathi, stating that "the passage in the Khajurāhō inscription referred to above, does not refer to Mahipāla's restoration, but merely to his accession to the throne with the help of the Chandēlla prince".² The reason for this, according to the learned scholar, was to seek "the support of the Chandēlla king Harshadēva as a counterpoise to the alliance between his rival and the Chēdi ruler Kōkalla I."³ But this view goes contrary to the fact that when Kōkalla I himself sided Bhōja, as we shall see now, he cannot be taken as siding Mahipāla who was his rival for the throne.

The Benares grant issued by the Kalachuri Karna in K. year 793 = 1042 A.C. has a verse which must be interpreted to mean that Harsha, the lord of Chitrakūṭa, was one of those princes who had received help from Kōkalla (850-890 A.C.). Kielhorn has identified this Harsha with his namesake of the Chandēlla dynasty⁴ and this view is generally accepted. However, it has been urged against this view that when according to the Khajurāhō inscription of V.S. 1011 (954 A.C.), Kālāñjara was acquired for the first time by Harsha's son, Yaśovarman, Chitrakūṭa, which lies about 25 miles (40 kms.) north east of it, seems to have been held at that time by the Gūrjaras.⁵ Accordingly, it has also been suggested by D.C. Ganguly that the Harsha who received protection from Kōkalla was the Guhila prince of that name whose rule might (naturally) have extended to Chitrakūṭa, i.e., modern Chitor in Mēwād. And this suggestion is taken as quite plausible by V.V. Mirashi.⁶

Ganguly's theory is based on the assumption that the Chandēlla king could capture Chitrakūṭa only after his occupation of Kālāñjara and in no case prior to it. But why should it be presumed that in the course of capturing it he should have marched only from the west to the east or from the southwest to the northeast? He may be taken as penetrating into the region and going up to the fort from any other direction, as well, leaving Kālāñjara altogether untouched.

The Kalachuri Kōkalla is known to have advanced a policy of making matrimonial alliances with his contemporaries, as he did with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I and also with the Pāla king Vigrahapāla, the successor of Dēvapāla. The Benares grant of Karna referred to above, also tells us that Kōkalla married Nattadēvi who was born in the Chandēlla family.⁷ The inscription does not mention her parentage, but she may have been a daughter of a near relative of the Chandēlla king. If so, it is quite possible to infer that Kōkalla rendered help to the Chandēlla Harsha who had then occupied Chitrakūṭa, of course before the occupation of Kālāñjar by his son Yaśovarman.

That Harsha helped Kshitipāladēva in the latter's endeavour to regain the throne probably goes to indicate that from this time the Chandēllas may have acknowledged the authority of Kanauj and may have changed their subordination from Pāla suzerainty, as we have presumed above. This view, as already stated above, is indeed tentative and we have no material to ascertain it. However, it is almost certain that the Rāshtrakūṭa blow, as seen above, must have enormously weakened the imperial Pratihāra power by this time, and Harsha's obeisance to the contemporary Pratihāra ruler may have been only nominal. He is given the title *Mahārājādhirāja* in the Nanyaurā grant of his grandson Dhaṅga.

1 *J.D.L.*, Vol. X, pp. 66 ff.

2 *H.K.*, p. 261.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 256.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 301. Also see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 48, v. 7.

5 *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIII, p. 486.

6 See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. lxxv. Also see *ibid.*, p. 238, where Mirashi held that this Harsha was the well-known Chandēlla king, and also *ibid.*, p. (xxviii), Additions and Corrections, where he reverted to his former view.

7 *Ibid.*, No. 48, v. 8.

YAŚŌVARMAN *alias* LAKSHAVARMAN

c. 930 to c. 950 A.C.

The fragmentary Khajurāhō inscription,¹ which is the earliest known record of the dynasty was probably engraved during the reign of Yaśōvarman. Next in order of time is another inscription from the same place and dated V.S. 1011 (953-54 A.C.), which calls this ruler also as Lakshavarman, extolls him in the usual panegyric style, signifying that he was a great warrior who destroyed his adversaries, that his wide fame spread in all the quarters and that he equalled Karṇa in munificence, Yudhisṭhira in truthfulness and Arjuna in valour, carrying his victorious arms to distant regions.² This is no doubt a vague conventional praise; but we have a definite statement in this respect in another inscription from the same place,³ which has a verse alluding to his specific exploits. It states that "he was a sword to (cut down) the Gaudas as if they were pleasure-creeper, equalled the forces of the Khasas and carried out the treasure of the Kōsalas; before him perished the Kāshmiri warriors; he weakened the Mithilas, (and) he was, as it were, the god of death to the Mālavas; who brought distress on the shameful Chēdis and was to the Kurus what a storm is to trees, and a scorching fire to the Gūjaras" (v. 23). The historical significance of this verse, along with that of v. 28 which repeats his victory over Chēdirāja, has been discussed in our edition of the record; and here a reference is invited to the same. The description of the warlike activities of this ruler, however, describing his military campaigns over a vast area from Mālava to the Himalayas on one side and from Kashmir to Bengal on the other, looks like a *dig-vijaya*, as this word is actually used in verse 39 of it. It goes to show, nevertheless, that from the time of this ruler the kingdom of the Chandēllas began to grow in power, exercising its influence more or less in all directions, though the statements of the record that "the forces of his armies marching on either banks of the Yamunā and the Ganges made their water muddy by the bathing of his furious and mighty elephants" (v.39) and also that he reached up to the Himalayas⁴ look like hyperbolic expressions.

We have no definite knowledge of the territorial acquisition of this ruler, except that he snatched Kālāñjar, an impregnable fort in the Bāndā District, situated about 70 kms. due northeast of Khajurāhō.⁵ The capture of this important hill-fort is indeed a great military achievement of Yaśōvarman, though scholars are not unanimous in holding as to from whom it was conquered by him. Up to 836 A.C., it was certainly held by the Pratihāras,⁶ and the Asiatic Society's plate,⁷ dated 931 A.C., also shows that till that year at least they continued to hold their sway over it. The Dēoli and the Karhād plates of Kṛishṇa III inform us that "on hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern regions simply by means of his angry glance, the hopes about Kālāñjara and Chitrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gūjara".⁸ From this statement, R.S. Tripathi, of course with some hesitation, held that Kṛishṇa III was successful in occupying Kālāñjara and Chitrakūṭa.⁹ H.C. Ray was inclined to think that it is not unlikely that Yaśōvarman may have captured the famous hill-fort not from the Gūjara-Pratihāras, "as was so long believed", but from the Rāshṭrakūṭas.¹⁰ Differing from them both, D.C. Sircar suggested that it was probably held before by the Pratihāra house represented by Harirāja, a feu-

1 No. 97.

2 No. 98, v. 39.

3 No. 114, vv. 31-38.

4 No. 114, v. 30.

5 For the history and importance of this place, see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 1xviii f.6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 18, l. 6.7 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 138 ff.8 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 289, v. 30; *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 194; v. 25.9 *H.K.*, p. 267 and 271.10 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 674. Altekar also is of the same view; see *R.T.T.*, p. 113.

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datory of the Gūjara-Pratihāras and holding the Jhansi-Guna region with the fort in it and from this house he may have snatched it.¹ But here I share the view of R.C. Majumdar who holds that "possibly the two forts were conquered by a third power (Kalachuris or Chandēllas) allied to the Rāshtrakūṭas, and the Gūjara-Pratihāras gave up all hopes of recovering it".²

For want of evidence nothing can be definitely said on this point, and the view expressed above is merely tentative. It is, however, certain that the capture of this important hill-fort along with the surrounding area was indeed a great achievement which must have made Yaśovarman virtually the master of Bundelkhand proper. Thus we see that this ruler, who was a successful military leader materially contributed to the destruction of the sovereign power of the Gūjara-Pratihāras though he and his successor Dhaṅga continued to show a nominal allegiance to them. The description of his exploits shows that he extended the bounds of his kingdom and thus he became almost a menace to the house of his overlord of Kanauj.

Studying the military exploits of Yaśovarman, we also note that equally vague and grandiloquent claim of conquest has been ascribed to two of his contemporaries, viz., the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-967 A.C.) and the Kalachuri ruler Yuvarāja I (c. 915-945 A.C.).³ Moreover, from the figurative style of the description it is also highly doubtful whether his conquest of all these territories should be taken to represent historical facts. It is not improbable, of course, that he defeated the Chēdi (Kalachuri) ruler who is mentioned twice in the inscription and who was his elderly contemporary, Yuvarāja I,⁴ and he may also have come into a clash with the Paramāra king Siyaka *alias* Śrīharsha who too was following an expansionist policy, as we have already seen in the history of his house above. Yaśovarman also seems to have acquired some parts of Siyaka's kingdom as is evident from the fact that he placed the region bordering the Mālava territory in charge of his son Kṛishṇarāja, as we know from the latter's Dudāhi inscriptions.⁵ But his success in the other directions, particularly against Kashmir, the region of the Khasas and also in those lying at the foot of the Himalayas, which were all far distant from his kingdom, is not corroborated by any substantial evidence.

Yaśovarman was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu. He constructed a splendid temple of *Daityārātri*, the enemy of the Daityas, i.e., Viṣṇu, at Khajurāhō, which "rivals the peaks of the Himalayas and the golden pinnacles of which illumine the sky". This temple, which is now called as that of Chaturbhujā, is near a big tank which too is said to have been excavated by the same ruler.⁶ He also appears to have had a leaning towards a special manifestation of the deity, as we know from the introductory stanza of one of the Khajurāhō inscriptions which invokes the blessings of Vaikunṭha in the form of the combination of the Boar and the Man-lion.

The history of the image installed in the temple is given in verse 43 of the same record. It says that the lord of Bhōṭa obtained it from the Kailāsa, and from him the *Sāhi*, the king of Kira, received it as a token of friendship; from him it was obtained

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 310 f. However, it appears to be hardly possible for a ruler of the Jhānsi-Gunā region to have extended his sway in the east so far as Kālāñjar which is not less than 250 kms. and also intervened by a part of the territory of the Chandēllas who were his foes.

2 *J.O.R.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 155 ff. From *prastuti* of Kṛishṇa III inscribed on a stone slab at Jura in the former Maihar State (now in Satna District of Madhya Pradesh), Dr. Altekar conjectured that Kṛishṇa's conquest of the fort of Kālāñjar is "well founded". See *R.T.T.*, p. 113. But this assumption can hardly be justified when we consider that this fort is not less than 90 kms. farther from Maihar, to its north-northwest. Moreover, this ruler's claim to the imperial titles in the *prastuti* also shows that he may have conquered this territory in his subsequent career as king, and not as a crown-prince, as presumed by Altekar.

3 The Karhād plate, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV p. 284, v. 31, and *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 211, vv. 24, 27, respectively.

4 Yuvarāja was defeated towards the close of his reign, for which see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 1xxxiv.

5 Nos. 101-106.

6 No. 98, v. 38.

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by Hērambapāla, for a force of elephants and horses, and ultimately Yaśovarman received it from Dēvapāla, who was the former's son.¹

Yaśovarman married Puppā² (Pushpā), whose parentage is unknown. From her he had a son named Dhaṅga, who succeeded him in *circa* 950 A.C.

DHANGA

c. 950 to c. 1002-03 A.C.

Yaśovarman's reign terminated some time before 953-54 A.C. when the stone bearing his Khajurāhō inscription was set up by his son Dhaṅga. For the latter of these rulers we have three more records. Two of them are stone inscriptions found at Khajurāhō itself, dated respectively in V.S. 1011 = 955 A.C. and V.S. 1059 = 1002 A.C.; and the third is a copper-plate found at Nanyaurā in the Hamirpur District (U.P.), recording his donation in V.S. 1055 or 998 A.C.³ The plate mentions Dhaṅga with the imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, indicating his openly declaring independence and throwing off the yoke of his erstwhile imperial overlord.⁴ The grant was issued from Vārāṇasi, perhaps lending colour to the view that his region extended up to that place.⁵ We have seen above that Yaśovarman is said to have taken his forces up to the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab.

The Chandēlla kingdom grew in power under Dhaṅga, who, as we are informed by the fragmentary Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman, attained to "supreme lordship after inflicting a defeat in battle over the king of Kānyakubja".⁶ This adversary of Dhaṅga, according to R.S. Tripathi, was Vijayapāla, whose death occurred in about the end of the ninth decade of the tenth century A.C. and in whose reign the Pratihāra kingdom declined further.⁷ The statement of his defeat at the hands of the Chandēlla king is supported by a Khajurāhō inscription, stating that he (Dhaṅga) ruled the earth "as far as Kālāṅjara and as far as Bhāsvat, (situated?) on the banks of the river of Mālava; from here to the banks of the river Kālindī (Yamunā), and from here also to the frontiers of the Chēdi country, and even as far as the mountain called Gōpa (Gōpādri or Gwālīor) which is the unique abode of marvel".⁸ Thus we find that the supremacy so far enjoyed by the Pratihāras in North India was snatched by Dhaṅga, who was the most powerful ruler of the region during this period, though he retained in the Khajurāhō inscription set up by him a formal and only nominal recognition of the imperial power.

The conquest of the strategic fort of Gwālīor was indeed a marvellous achievement, speaking highly of the valour of the Chandēlla king, and in our account of the

1 I am unable to agree with Tripathi in his suggestion that it was Yaśovarman's growing strength and independence that compelled Dēvapāla to surrender to him the celebrated image of Vaikuṇṭha (H.K., p. 272). Moreover, it is also doubtful as suggested by V.V. Mirashi that the word *sūnu* used in the inscription (No. 98, v. 13) to state the relation of Dēvapāla to Hērambapāla, is employed in the wider sense of a nephew, just as *ūta* (father) sometimes denotes 'an uncle'.

2 No. 114, v. 40.

3 Nos. 99, 114 and 100, respectively.

4 Agreeing with R.C. Majumdar, I presume that the early Chandēlla rulers were feudatories of the Pālas (Dēvapāla) and some time later they had to yield to the Imperial Pratihāra power.

5 For a contrary view, see E.R.K., p. 61. It is, however, not certain that Vārāṇasi was included in his kingdom which, according to his inscription extended only up to Kālāṅjar; see No. 98, v. 45. Vārāṇasi was a bone of contest and was lost to the Pāla king Mahipāla who built many temples at Sarnāth, near it, before 1026 A.C. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 139 H.

6 No. 125, v. 3.

7 H.K., p. 276.

8 No. 98, v. 45.

Kachchhapaghātas we have seen that the fort was acquired by him by inflicting a defeat on the king of Kānyakubja, with the help of Vajradāman who accepted his vassalage.¹ This event appears to have occurred about 977 A.C. when Vajradāman began his career, and the conquest of the hill of Gwalior made Dhaṅga an important figure in the history of North India. We have already seen that he possessed another hill-fort, that of Kālāñjara, which was acquired by his father Yaśovarman.

The Mau stone inscription makes a bold claim for Dhaṅga, in its verse 3, which states that he "obtained exalted sovereignty after defeating in the battle-field the king of Kānyakubja" i.e., Kanauj. This incident must be placed after 954 A.C., the date of the Khajurāhō inscription in which he expresses at least his nominal subordination to the sovereignty of Kanauj.

No other definite achievement of Dhaṅga has been known so far, though a verse of one of the Khajurāhō inscriptions poetically describes how his door-keeper (chamberlain) instructed the ruling princes of Kōsala, Kratha, Simhala and Kuntala,² meaning thereby that the outer chamber of his court was surrounded by kings and noblemen. Another verse of the same record informs us that his royal prison was thronged with the queens of Kāñchi, Āndhra, Rāḍha and Aṅga. From these hyperbolic expressions of the court-poets, it is vain to conclude that Dhaṅga raided some portions of the peninsular and eastern India, though some of them may be taken to have been "fanciful expressions of his pious wish".³

Unfortunately we have no reference as to Dhaṅga's internal administration; but we have some details indicating how he made arrangements to guard the western part of his kingdom, stretching from Lalitpur sub-division of the Jhānsi District in the north to Vidishā in the south, against the Paramāras and the Kalachuris whose territories adjoined to his kingdom, respectively, in its west and south west, and who too were endeavouring to extend their dominions in this region at that time. Dhaṅga placed this region under his nephew Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇapa, born of Dēvalabdhī and Āsarvā, as it appears from the Dudāhi inscriptions.⁴ Another inscription found at Vidishā tells us that Kṛishṇa's Chief Minister, Vāchaspati of the Kaupḍinya gotra, who led some other military campaigns, conquered the lord of Chēdi;⁵ and still another inscription found at Māsēr, about 30 kms. northwest of Vidishā, tells us that Narasimha of the Śulki family vanquished and also killed a Kalachuri king at the command of Kṛishṇarāja, who has been identified with Kṛishṇa of the Dudāhi inscriptions.⁶ Collecting all these references, V.V. Mirashi has shown that the Kalachuri king defeated by Kṛishṇa's general was probably Śankaragapa III, who had a short reign of about ten years from c. 970 to c. 980 A.C.⁷ These accounts speak highly of the statesmanship of Dhaṅga.

It is during the time of Dhaṅga that the country had to face a new danger in the form of the Turkish invasion. Sabuktigin (977-997 A.C.), the founder of the Yamini

1 For the view held by H.C. Ray, that the Kachchhapaghātas were the feudatories of the Imperial Pratihāras, see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 822-23. But we have no evidence in support of this conjecture.

2 No. 114, vv. 45-46.

3 Also see *E.R.K.*, pp. 61 ff.; and *A.I.K.*, p. 86.

4 Nos. 101-106.

5 This inscription was found by F.E. Hall *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. III, n. 2. It appears to be the same as transcribed in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 21, n. 1. For another achievement of Vāchaspati, see my note in the *Journ. of the Bihar Res. Soc.*, Vol. LVII (1971), pp. 81 ff.

6 For Mirashi's view, see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 196-97, and p. lxxxvii. On the other hand, M. Venkataramayya, who edited the Māsēr inscription in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX (1953), pp. 18 ff., suggested Kṛishṇarāja's identification with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-967 A.C.); but it appears less possible that the king of Rōḍapati mentioned in the *N.S.C.*, XI, v. 89, was defeated by one of the Rāshtrakūṭa subordinates, Styaka II, and restored by another Vāchaspati, as contested by him. Venkataramayya's views have also been controverted by Mirashi in *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. xxi (Additions and Corrections).

7 Mirashi, *op. cit.*

dynasty of Gazni, appeared at the gates of India in 990-91 A.C., and to confront his ferocious and devastating forces, Jayapāla, the contemporary Śāhi chief, who, according to Minhāj-us-Sirāj, was "the greatest Rāe of Hind",¹ "appealed to the neighbouring Rājās for assistance; and considering it to be a common danger to the safety of the Motherland, as we learn from Firishtā, the rulers of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālāñjar and Kanauj responded to his call by sending money and troops to his aid.² But after some resistance, the Śāhi chief lost the war and his united forces fled in utter confusion, as we are informed unanimously by the Muslim historians.³

From our point of view it is relevant only to note that the Kālāñjar king who assisted Jayapāla on this occasion has been generally identified with Dhaṅga who was on the throne in 990-991 A.C. when the Sultan appeared in India. We have no means to check the account of the Muslim writers which is one-sided. But fortunately here comes to our aid a verse of the fragmentary Mahōbā inscription of the time of Kirtivarman, which avers that "he (Dhaṅga), by the strength of his arms, equalled even the mighty Hamvira who had proved a heavy burden to the earth".⁴ Hamvira of the afore-mentioned inscription is the Sanskritised form of the Arabic word *Amir*, and as already pointed out by scholars, it was applied as a royal title to the Yamini kings of Gazni and some provincial governors and others.⁵

Hultzsch, who edited the Mahōbā inscription, expressed that the battle was not in favour of Dhaṅga.⁶ S.K. Mitra, on the other hand, emphasised the use of the root *tul* and its various shades of meaning, and took the verse to mean that Dhaṅga proved himself "equal to the Sultān".⁷ H.C. Ray, who would give no credence to the evidence of Firishta, doubted the veracity of the evidence. He writes that "to compare Dhaṅga's prowess to that of the terrible Hamvira may have appeared to a late *prastikāra*, writing at least a hundred years after that prince's death, to be deserving of the highest reward. If Dhaṅga really fought and was defeated by the Hamvira, we should expect a discreet silence from the poets living at the court of his successors".⁸ Thus the use of the expression *sārēṇa yaḥ sva-bhujayōr* in the verse need not be taken to show Dhaṅga's direct participation in the war fought against Sabuktigin in Lamghān, and the view of the Muslim historians, which is one-sided, has to be taken as not wholly true, nor does the statement of the Mahōbā inscription deserve full credit.⁹ It appears to have been a drawn battle.

As we are informed by the Khajurāhō inscription set up by his descendant Jayavarman, Dhaṅga had a long life extending over one hundred years and he ended it by throwing himself alive in the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā at Prayāga, while meditating on Rudra (Śiva), to whom he was devoted.¹⁰ His devotion to the deity is also known from his erecting a magnificent and charming temple in honour of him, at his capital, Khajurāhō, with installation of a *linga* of emerald in it and by establishing

1 T.N.R., Vol. I, p. 82. Dhaṅga was a contemporary of Yamini Sultans Sabuk-tigin, Ismail and Mahmūd (998-1030 A.C.).

2 T.F.B., Vol. I, p. 10.

3 For example, see Briggs, Vol. I, p. 18.

4 No. 113, v. 17.

5 D.H.N.I., Vol. II, p. 681. The word appears as Himmira in a verse quoted in I.H.Q., Vol. XXXVII, p. 341. For identification of Hamvira with Sabuktigin, also see E.H.I., p. 406; I.H.Q., Vol. XXXVII, p. 342; H.M.H.I., Vol. II, p. 127; C.H.I., Vol. III, p. 507. In E.H.I., Smith gives the name of the Chandēlla ruler who assisted Jayapāla, as Gaṇḍa. But he did not occupy the throne. See our remarks in No. 200.

6 Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 219.

7 Also see I.H.Q., Vol. XXV (1949), p. 213.

8 D.H.N.I., Vol. II, p. 683. For the contrary view, see A.I.K., p. 86.

9 For the details, see *Ithilāsa-Chayanikā* (Dr. Sampuranananda Felicitation Vol.) Pt. II, pp. 54-55, where R.K. Dikshit has considered the question in detail. For the contrary view stating that there was no direct fight between Dhaṅga and the Yamini invader, see E.R.K., pp. 66-67. I.H.Q., Vol. XXXIII (1957), pp. 153 f.

10 No. 114, v. 55.

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learned Brāhmanas in its precincts, which also shows his benevolent activities.¹ His charitable disposition is evidenced from his gift made to Brāhmanas at Kāśī, on a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Kārtika, which is generally taken to be a holy day, and also by performing *nulā-dāna*.² To show his catholicity in the different forms of religion, we may cite the instance of Pāhila, a Jaina devotee, who was highly honoured by him.³ The *praśasti* recording the construction of a Śiva temple pays obeisance in its end, to Vāsudēva and the Sun, as already seen above.

In the administration of the kingdom, Dhaṅga was assisted by his Chief Minister, Prabhāsa, born in the family of Akshapāda. This person was meritorious, possessed good qualities and high learning, and was also proficient in statementship.⁴ The religious functions of the kingdom were looked after by the *purōhita* Yaśōdhara who was also the Chief Justice (*dharmādhikārin*).⁵ We have already seen how the outlying and strategically important region of Dudāhī was put in charge of the king's brother, Krishnapa. That Dhaṅga used to honour learned persons is known from the instance of the poets Mādhava and Śrīrāma (or, the illustrious Rāma?), the composers of the *praśasti*. The latter of these persons also enjoyed the title *Sāhityaratnākara*,⁶ probably awarded by the king himself. *Karāṇika* (scribe) is another officer mentioned in one of the Khajurāhō inscriptions.⁷

The name of Dhaṅga's queen is not known from any of the records found so far. But according to the Mau and the Mahōbā inscriptions,⁸ his son was Gaṇḍa, who succeeded him some time after 1002 A.C., which is his latest known date when he had already enjoyed a long life of more than one hundred years by that time.

GAṆḌA

c. 1002 to c. 1018 A.C. (?)

The period of Gaṇḍa's rule has to be placed between 1001-02 A.C., the latest known date of his father Dhaṅga, and 1019 A.C., the earliest known date of his son, Vidyādhara. The date of his accession is a matter of dispute, as may be related here in brief. In 1008 A.C. the Turks renewed their invasion against the Śāhis, the guardians of India, and the leader of their forces in this campaign was not Sabuktigin as on the previous occasion, but his son Mahmūd who succeeded him in 999 A.C., and who had taken a vow "to wage a holy war against the infidels of India, every year". Mahmūd's object this time was to subjugate the Śāhi chief Ānandapāla, the son and successor of Jaipāla. On an earlier occasion, in his expedition against Multān, in 1005-06, this chief refused to comply with the request of Mahmūd to allow him a passage through his kingdom, as the Sindh was flooded due to rains, which he refused; and this is why the Sultān directed his attack against the Śāhi ruler, who was helped this time also by the *rājās* of Ujjain, Gwālior, Kālāñjar, Delhi and Ajmer and the king of Kanauj.⁹ As to the identity of the *rājā* of Kālāñjar, there is no certainty; for, whereas Smith and Vaidya identify him with Gaṇḍa, H.C. Ray held that it is not unlikely for Dhaṅga to have lived up to 1008 A.C. which saw the downfall of the Śāhi dynasty.¹⁰ But this view cannot now

1 *Ibid.*, vv. 50 and 53.

2 No. 100, 1.8, and No. 114, v. 52, respectively.

3 *Dhaṅga-rājēna mānyah*, No. 99, v. 1.

4 No. 125, vv. 20-21.

5 No. 114, v. 56.

6 *Ibid.*, v. 58.

7 No. 98, v. 48.

8 Nos. 113, v. 19 and 125, v. 4, respectively.

9 Briggs, *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 46. As R.S. Tripathi has pointed out, there is no mention of the second confederacy either in Utbi or in Ibn Asir, for which, see *H.K.*, p. 283, n. 3.

10 See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 142, and *H.M.H.L.*, Vol. III, pp. 44, 176.

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be held in the light of the lately found Kuṇḍśvara copper-plate which shows that Vidyādhara was on the throne in 1004 A.C.¹

No inscription of Gaṇḍa has so far been known. His name is found in three of the later records of the house, viz., the Mahōbā fragmentary inscription of the time of Kirtivarman, the Mau inscription of the time of Maṇavarman, and the Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of the time of Bhōjavarman.² In the first two of these records his description is only conventional, but the last one furnishes an additional information, viz., that Jājūka, who belonged to the Vāstavya race of the Kāyasthas and was endowed with the title of *Thakkura* was entrusted by the invincible king Gaṇḍa with the work of superintending all the affairs (of the State), and (for this) he was to enjoy the village of Dugaḍā, which was granted to him. From the Mau stone inscription we learn that Prabhāsa, the Chief Minister of Dhāṅga continued to be so under Gaṇḍa also.³

VIDYĀDHARA

c. 1018 to 1030 A.C.

Gaṇḍa's successor, according to the Mahōbā and Mau stone inscriptions referred to above, was his son Vidyādhara. We have no inscription of this ruler, except the Kuṇḍśvara copper-plate mentioned above; and the limit of his reign, which is not definitely known, is calculated here on the evidence of contemporary sources.

The reign of Vidyādhara witnessed two important political events giving a turn to the history of North India, viz., the collapse of the Śāhis who were the guardians of north-west India, and the fall of the empire of the Gūjjara-Pratihāras, so far constituting the imperial power in North India, both of them facilitating further penetration of the champions of Islām in the region. Both these events will be referred to here only in brief as our main purpose is to know the role played by the Chandēlla ruler, who is said to have been "the greatest ruler of India in territory and as one who had the largest armies".⁴

The first of these events, namely the breakdown of the Śāhis, in the form of the defeat of Trilōchanapāla, has already been described above. Emboldened by his success and with his iconoclastic zeal, Mahmūd again set out in 1018 A.C., with "the intention of conquering Kanauj", as the same authority tells us. He directed his forces in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley, when he crossed the Yamunā, without any opposition, and proceeded to the imperial city of Kanauj. On his approach, the Gūjjara-Pratihāra ruler, Rājyapāla, who was struck with panic, took to flight⁵ and the premier city of Hindusthan was left to the mercy of the invaders, playing havoc in the form of massacre, imprisonment and plunder; and laden with rich treasures, Mahmūd returned to Gaznī, with an enormous amount of booty.⁶

For his ignominious escape, Rājyapāla was rebuked by the Chandēlla ruler, Vidyādhara; and at his instance he was slain by Arjuna, who was the latter's feudatory,

1 See No. 200.

2 No. 113, v. 19; No. 125, v. 4; and No. 150, vv. 5-7.

3 No. 125, v. 21. Since all about Gaṇḍa was written here and elsewhere, my attention was drawn to the lately found copper-plate, belonging to the time of his son Vidyādhara and dated V. 1060 (1004 A.C.). It is edited here under No. 200. It shows that Gaṇḍa either did not come to the throne, or, if at all, he may have ruled only for a very short time extending over a few months.

4 T.K.A. (Bulak), 1874, Vol. IX, p. 115.

5 This is according to the *Kitāb Zain-ul-Akhbar*, for which, see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. I, p. 604, n. 4. The *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*, on the other hand, says that Rājyapāla had submitted and rendered allegiance to Mahmūd. See *T.A.D.*, Vol. I, p. 12.

6 For the details of the campaign, see *K.Y.R.*, pp. 449 ff.; *T.A.D.*, Vol. I, p. 10; and *T.F.B.*, Vol. I, pp. 56 ff.

as will be narrated in the history of the Kachchhapaghāta dynasty. The same incident is referred to in the Mahōbā inscription of the time of Kirtivarman, which says that Vidyādhara caused the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja.¹ Thus we see that Vidyādhara is the first Chandēlla ruler who openly discarded his vassalage to the imperial throne of Kanauj.

Reverting to Mahmūd, we find that he again set out for India in the autumn of 1019 A.C., "with larger preparations than before". Scholars are not unanimous in their opinion as to the Sultān's aim in planning this expedition. For example, Smith, on the authority of Nizāmuddin, held that becoming furious on account of Vidyādhara's and his followers' action of inflicting punishment on a prince whom he regarded his feudatory, Mahmūd "resolved to take speedy vengeance on the audacious confederates".² On the other hand, H.C. Ray was inclined to suggest that the cause of this expedition "was not Vidyādhara's attack on the Kanauj prince but the Chandēlla prince's intention of attacking the territory conquered and annexed by Mahmūd".³ Utbi, however, attributes this expedition only to Mahmūd's ambition and love for plunder.⁴

Viewing all these different statements which are expressed on the motive leading to Mahmūd's expedition, I am tempted to hold that possibly the last one of these may have been the main intention of the Sultān, and the other two may have followed it, after his approach to India and getting the information of the affairs taken place here during the time when he was at Gaznī. Whether or not, this was indeed his first expedition directed against the Chandēllas. Proceeding through Kanauj and its neighbouring places, Mahmūd came to the border of the Chandēlla kingdom. To oppose the alien aggression, Vidyādhara went out to meet him, with 36,000 horsemen, 145,000 foot soldiers and 390 elephants, according to Nizāmuddin.⁵ The same authority also informs us that "when the Sultān encamped in front of Nandā's (mistake for Bidā, i.e., Vidyādhara's) army, he first sent an envoy to the Chandēlla ruler, inviting him to submit and to accept Islām. But the latter refused to place his neck under the yoke of subjection. After that, the Sultān went to an elevated spot, so that he might look at and make an estimate of the strength of Nandā's (Vidyādhara's) army. Then, when he saw what a vast host it was, he repented of his coming; and placing the forehead of supplication on the ground of submission and humility, prayed for victory and conquest from the Giver of all Mercies".⁶

We have no knowledge of where the battle took place, except that it was on a river, which is not named. The account of the conflict between the two forces is not the same between the Muslim chroniclers. Nizāmuddin and Firishta give a different version of the encounter, stating that Vidyādhara stealthily fled away, at night, on account of the fear of the invader, leaving behind his army and the munitions of war, to be plundered by the Muslim forces.⁷ However, taking into account all the diverse records of the Muslim chroniclers, I am led to believe with the other scholars that what we find in the Muslim

1 No. 113, v. 22. I do not agree with Smith and others who held that Vidyādhara was the crown-prince when he marched against Rājyapāla. For this view, see *E.H.I.*, p. 395; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 128, 142; *H.K.*, p. 286, n. For if we agree with V.V. Mirashi who suggests that the Paramāra Bhōja and the Kalachuri Gāṅgāyādēva also seem to have fought under the leadership of Vidyādhara in this expedition (*C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. lxxxix), their dates would suggest that Vidyādhara was king at that time. Mirashi's suggestion is now confirmed by the lately found plate of the time of Vidyādhara (No. 200), telling us that he was on the throne in 1004 A.C.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 142; *E.H.D.*, p. 398.

3 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. I, p. 688.

4 *K.Y.R.*, p. 468.

5 Firishta gives the number of infantry as 45,000 and that of elephants as 640. The number again varies according to some other authorities.

6 *T.A.D.*, Vol. I, p. 12.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 12; *T.E.D.*, Vol. I, p. 64. Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 463-64.

sources is all partial and one-sided. That Mahmūd had to undertake another expedition against Vidyādhara in 1022 A.C. evidently shows that this battle was not decisive and the Chandēlla ruler's retreat may have been only strategic.¹

In 1022 A.C., Mahmūd again came down to India, but his route this time was different, i.e., via Gwālior, where he laid siege to the fort. He held out the siege for four days; and after concluding peace with the local ruler, advanced towards Kālāñjar, situated on a lofty crag of a precipitous rock of hard stone. He surrounded the fort, and the siege was raised when the Chandēlla ruler, as we are informed, sued for peace, promising to pay an annual tribute and to surrender 300 elephants.² Vidyādhara is also said to have sent to the Sultān some verses which he himself had composed, in Hindi, in praise of the latter. They were highly appreciated and Mahmūd expressed his pleasure by issuing a *farmān* confirming the Chandēlla king in the possession of fifteen forts, including Kālāñjar. There was also an exchange of costly gifts and presents between the two rulers, and Mahmūd left for Gaznī, "with victory and triumph".³

Considering the whole situation, we find that Mahmūd launched two expeditions against the Chandēllas, but in both of them he was far from achieving his aim. In the first of them he failed to enforce Islām on Vidyādhara, to whom he had sent a message, or to annex any of his territories. And, if we are to believe the statement of Nizāmuddin, viz., that the Sultān's mission was to punish the Chandēlla ruler, there is no reason to comprehend why with his heart full of nervousness on seeing the vast Chandēlla forces he had an occasion to repent of his coming there and praying for victory from the "Giver of all Mercies". And above all, if the next morning he found the Chandēlla camp abandoned, there is no reason why he should have retraced his steps only after looting it. Whether Vidyādhara left the field, or not, and whether there was actually a struggle or not, he should have pursued Vidyādhara and destroyed him. All these considerations go to indicate that Mahmūd, "who had no hopes of victory, only took advantage of the situation and withdrew".⁴ His ambition in the second invasion against Vidyādhara was again foiled, since we learn that this time too he raised the siege of the fort only on the exchange of gifts and presents, after which he returned to his country.⁵

On the other hand, estimating Vidyādhara's activities on both these occasions, we find that he made a supreme effort to resist foreign attacks, as we are informed by Ibn-ul-Alhir.⁶ We have epigraphic evidence in support of this statement. The Dēogaḍh inscription of the time of his grandson, Kirtivarman, states that his (Vidyādhara's) fame spread far and wide and "his lotus-feet were bowed down to by the multitude of princes".⁷ The latter of these statements is specified in the Mahōbā inscription of the same king, which avers that he (Vidyādhara) "gathered the flowers of the fame of his enemies".⁸

1 As already suggested by R.K. Dikshit in *Sampurananda Felicitation Vol. Pt. II*, p. 62. How all these accounts are partial is shown by S.L. Katore in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 343. Among other examples cited by him, one is that Vidyādhara started with 300 elephants, as already stated, "How could Mahmud find according to the same source, as many as 580 elephants while plundering the former's camp after he had left?" See *ibid.*

2 See Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 467 ff. According to K.Z.A., pp. 79 f., *jaziya* was also imposed upon Vidyādhara; but in fact the exchange of gifts and presents came to be depicted as tribute, as already shown by S.K. Mitra in *E.R.K.*, p. 82.

3 *T.A.D.*, Vol. I, p. 14; *T.F.B.*, Vol. I, p. 67.

4 For details, see *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 354 ff.

5 Taking both these expeditions against Gaṇḍa, Cunningham conjectured that in the first of them Mahmūd did not follow his enemy probably because "the spring in 1022 A.C. was already too far advanced to justify his entering upon a long campaign at so great a distance from Ghaznī", and in the second invasion the Chandēlla ruler submitted to him. See *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 452. But we have nothing to corroborate this assumption. Besides, as seen above, Vidyādhara, and not Gaṇḍa, was the king at the time.

6 *T.K.A.*, Vol. IX, pp. 115 ff.

7 No. 111, v. 1.

8 No. 113, vv. 21-22.

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which probably signifies his victory against the foreign invasion, probably with the help of some of the rulers as implied by another verse of this record, telling us that "this master of warfare (*samara-guru*) was worshipped by Bhōjadēva (the Paramāra) and the Kalachuri-chandra (Gāṅgēya).¹ The efforts that Vidyādhara made for protecting the country against foreign invaders appear to have been also alluded to in the Mau stone inscription, which compares him with Vāsava (Indra) against the forces of the demons.² From an inscription of the time of Jayavarman, which is unpublished, we learn that Vidyādhara "churned the wide ocean of the valiant Muslim prince."³ The accumulated references show that Vidyādhara, whose kingdom extended up to Yamunā in the north, was indeed the greatest ruler in North India and one of the leading monarchs of the time.

From the Mau stone inscription often referred to above, we learn that Vidyādhara was assisted by a capable Chief Minister whose name was Śivanāga. He was the son of Prabhāsa, who served Dhāṅga and Gaṇḍa in the same capacity and made other rulers tributary to him by his strength and warfare. By his intelligence and learning he is compared with Bṛihaspati.⁴ Vidyādhara's chief queen was Satyabhāmā.

VIJAYAPĀLA

c. 1030 to c. 1051

Vidyādhara was succeeded by his son Vijayapāla, as we learn from verse 6 of the Mau stone inscription, referred to above. No inscription of the reign of this ruler has so far been found; nor are we able to fix the limits of his reign definitely. The last known date of his father Vidyādhara is 1022 A.C., when Mahmūd launched his second attack on Kālāṅjar, as seen above; and the next certain date is V.S. 1107 or 1052 A.C. when his son Dēvaraman issued the Nanyaurā grant.⁵ During this period of thirty years which elapsed between these two dates, we have to accommodate Vijayapāla and give some years at least to his father, Vidyādhara and also to his son Dēvavarman. Thus it may be presumed that Vidyādhara continued at least up to *circa* 1030 A.C. when he was succeeded by his son Vijayapāla, and the latter may have been on the throne till about 1050 A.C., when he was succeeded by his son Dēvavarman.

The Mau inscription and some other records of the dynasty have only a conventional praise to describe Vijayapāla. He is said to have possessed wide-spread fame and also to have been a man of virtuous conduct, who exterminated the wicked.⁶ And though he is endowed with the imperial epithets in the grants of his successors, a study of the contemporary political circumstances goes to indicate that this ruler lacked the military genius of his father, and during his reign the influence of his house began to lose its glory, as stated below.

The Turkish invasion must have told heavily on the resources of the Chandēlla kingdom, and probably its integrity was also impaired. The Kachchhapaghāta rulers of Gwālior, who had so far owed their allegiance to the Chandēlla house, appear to have begun raising their heads; Mūladēva, who was Vijayapāla's contemporary, is described in the *Sās-bahūl* inscription in such expressions as led scholars to think that he might have

1 In identifying the Kalachuri king, I follow V.V. Mirashi, whereas according to some other scholars, this ruler is Kōkalla II, See *E.R.K.*, p. 76. Mirashi's statement also justifies his view that in the face of a common danger, these two rulers also joined Rājapāla in the struggle. See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. lxxxix and also n. 2 on the same page.

2 No. 125, v. 5.

3 Cf. *Himmira-vīram* = *uru-vārinidhīm pramathya prithvibhrītā karaṭīkaḥ*... quoted in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 341, from an unpublished record.

4 No. 125, vv. 23-24.

5 No. 107.

6 No. 125, v. 6.

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disowned his allegiance to the Chandēlla house.¹ That Mahipāla's son Padmapāla of the same house practically became independent of the Chandēlla house is also shown by his designation as "the foremost among the imperial rulers" (*chakravarti-tilaka*), in its verse 16. And possibly the Narwar house of the Kachchhapaghātas, all the three rulers of which are endowed with the same imperial titles, may have started its career almost at the same time, quite independently.

On the immediate south of Vijayapāla's kingdom was the territory of the Kalachuri Gāṅgēya (1015-1041 A.C.), who, as we have already seen, had participated with Vidyādhara, as his feudatory, in his struggle against the Turks; but soon after he too threw off his yoke and is known to have assumed imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*² and also of *Vikramāditya*.³ With his imperial ambition, this ruler succeeded in conquering Orissa and some of its neighbouring countries, and also fixed his residence in the holy Prayāg, which may have been under Dhaṅga, who made a gift at Kāśikā, or Vārāṇasi, in V.S. 1055 or 998 A.C., as we have already seen.⁴ This doubtless shows that Vijayapāla's quondam feudatory, Gāṅgēyadeva, not only overthrew his allegiance to him but also encroached upon some of the eastern portions of his territory. In the light of this, the statement of the Mahōbā stone inscription of the reign of Kirtivarman, viz., that "when Gāṅgēya, who had conquered the whole world, perceived before him the terrible one.... the lotus of his heart closed the knot (*i.e.*, the flower?) of pride in battle"⁵ has to be taken an empty boast, or, at the most, that Gāṅgēya submitted to him, only temporarily, as we know from the subsequent events.

Vijayapāla's queen was Bhuvanadēvi, from whom he got a son of the name of Dēvavarman, as we learn from the latter's Nanyaura plate.⁶ His Chief Minister was Mahipāla, the son of Śivanāga, who was in charge of administration under Vidyādhara and who is also said to have become "the standard of comparison" among efficient ministers.⁷

To the north-east of the town of Mahōbā lies a large deep lake known as *Vijayasāgara*, and from this name its construction has been ascribed, by Cunningham, to Vijayapāla.⁸ But it is equally probable that this lake may have been built by his seventh ancestor, Vijayaśakti, who too bore a similar name.

DĒVAVARMAN

c. 1050 to c. 1060 A.C.

Vijayapāla appears to have ended his career in c. 1050 A.C., when he was succeeded by his son Dēvavarman, as already stated above. This prince is known to have issued two copper-plate grants, one in V.S. 1107, on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of his mother Bhuvanadēvi, and the other in V.S. 1108, on a lunar eclipse.⁹ In both these records he bears the titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, signifying sovereign status and that of the sole lord of Kālāṅjara. His description in both these records is merely conventional, but it is worth noting that the latter of them mentions that he had some feudatories under him, who are, however, not named (11. 9-10).

1 No. 155, vv. 12-13. As held by Ray, for which, see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 825.

2 Piawan rock inscription of his reign. See *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 12.

3 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 56, and 57, v. 11 (*sa Vikramāditya iti prasiddhah*).

4 For details, see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. xc ff.

5 No. 113, v. 24. For the contrary view, see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. xci.

6 No. 107, l. 8.

7 No. 125, v. 26.

8 See *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 439.

9 Nos. 107-108.

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We have no historical information about this king, who seems to have been a weak ruler. We have observed how Vārānasi¹ had slipped out of the hands of his father Vijayapāla, and the weakness of Dēvavarman facilitated the task of his adversary, the Kalachuri Karṇa (1041-1073 A.C.), son of Gāṅgēyadēva, who was his contemporary. On account of his ambition, Karṇa is called Hindu Napoleon, and in the first eight or ten years of his reign, he achieved remarkable victories in the east, south and west. His Rēwā stone inscription, dated K.Year 800 or 1048-49 A.C., states that he invaded Eastern Bengal, overran the district of Kāñchi, when he encountered with the Chōla and Chālukya kings, and in the west he struggled with the king of Gujarāt.² Subsequent to this date, he was occupied in invading Mālwa, when, in alliance with Bhima of Gujarāt he captured Dhārā and dethroned Jayasimha, the successor of Bhōja, as already stated in the account of the Paramāras. Soon after, Karṇa turned his attention to his northern neighbour. We have no means to know how far he pressed himself in his invasion of the Chandēlla dominions and whether there was any encounter between him and the Chandēlla Dēvavarman, but as we know from the *Prabōdha-Chandrōdaya*, a drama written in the reign of his younger brother Kirtivarman, we have evidence to show that the career of Dēvavarman was cut short and his kingdom was annexed by the conqueror.³ This account is corroborated by the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, which avers that Karṇa was death to the lord of Kālāñjar.⁴ The tenor of the verse under reference shows that Dēvavarman was supplanted and his kingdom was incorporated into that of the Kalachuris. Probably this is the reason why the name of this inglorious ruler is omitted in most of the later Chandēlla records.

The defeat of Dēvavarman appears to have taken place some time in the sixth decade of the 11th century A.C., after Karṇa was free from his conquest in the other directions, as already referred to above, but prior to circa 1060 A.C., which, according to V.A. Smith,⁵ is the date of the accession of Kirtivarman, whose exploits in liberating the kingdom will be narrated presently. The fate of Dēvavarman remains unknown.

In the light of what has been stated above, Dēvavarman's description in his Nanyaurā grant, dated 1052 A.C., viz., that "by the fire of his prowess he had devoured the whole circle of the regions, and became the spiritual guide to initiate into widowhood the wives of the enemies slain by him on the field of battle",⁶ may probably be interpreted as giving him some initial success in his struggle with Karṇa; but ultimately the kingdom of Jējābhukti was absorbed into the dominions of the Kalachuris, as just seen.

Dēvavarman was a zealous follower of Śiva (*Parama-Māhēśvara*). We have, however, not even one spectacular example which may be shown as an outcome of this zeal.

KĪRTIVARMAN

c. 1060 to c. 1100 A.C.

Dēvavarman was succeeded by his younger brother, Kirtivarman, who regained his ancestral dominion from the Kalachuri Karṇa, as has been seen above. As in many other instances, it is difficult to fix the initial year of his reign with any amount of accuracy. V.A. Smith dates his accession approximately in about 1060 A.C.,⁶ and this view is generally

1 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 51, vv. 21-32. For details of his conquest, see *ibid.*, pp. xciii f.

2 p. 19, l. 6.

3 Canto XVIII, v. 93.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 127.

5 No. 107, ll. 3-5.

6 For Smith's view, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 149. V.V. Mirashi accepts it with hesitation; see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. xcvi. According to some scholars this date is 1070, for which, see *E.R.K.*, p. 100.

accepted. Smith's approximation of this date appears to be justified in consideration of the circumstances related above, viz., that Karna annexed the Chandella kingdom after about 1050 A.C. or even later by four or five years; and only subsequent to that date Kirtivarman was busy liberating it for at least some two or three years.

The earliest known year of Kirtivarman's reign is V.S. 1132 or 1075-76 A.C., furnished by an inscription discovered at Darbāt, near Mahōbā in the Hamirpur District, the aim of which is to record the installation of an image of Śāntinātha at that place.¹ Besides this, three more inscriptions of his reign have been so far known. One of them was found at Kālāñjar and is dated V.S. 1147 = 1090 A.C.; another, which comes from Dēogaḍh, bears the date V.S. 1154 or 1098 A.C.; and still another, which is undated, comes from Ajaygaḍh.² The find-spots of these records along with one discovered at Mahōbā, and ends with the name of Kirtivarman,³ are indicative of the fact that this ruler succeeded in regaining practically the whole of his ancestral dominion which had been lost by his brother.

The actual steps taken by Kirtivarman to vanquish Karna are nowhere indicated, but he had naturally to endeavour hard in the struggle as is suggested by verse 26 of the afore-mentioned Mahōbā inscription in which he is represented "to have acquired (royal) fortune just as Purushōttama (Vishṇu) had obtained Lakshmi by churning by his mountain-like strong arms the stormful ocean in the form of Lakshmikarna who had swallowed several kings (mountains)". Lakshmikarna has been identified with the Kalachuri Karna and, stripped of its metaphor, the verse means that the Chandella king inflicted a crushing defeat on Karna, and as a result of that, snatched back from him the royal fortune. The same event is also reported by the Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of the time of Viravarman, dated V.S. 1317 = 1262 A.C., which mentions Kirtivarman as a pitcher-born (Agastya) who swallowed the ocean in the form of Karna. This statement is also to be found in the Kālāñjar inscription of the time of the same king.⁴ This event appears to have been referred to also in the Dēogaḍh inscription dated V.S. 1154 = 1098 A.C., which describes him as a new Vishṇu recovering fortune from other princes as he (Vishṇu) recovered Lakshmi. This record further states that Kirtivarman's Chief Minister, Vatsarāja, son of Mahidhara, wrested the whole region (*mandala*) by his good counsel and valour.⁵ This statement, if taken as referring to Kirtivarman's struggle with the Kalachuri Karna, shows how a united and well-organised effort must have been made by the Chandella prince on this occasion. The afore-mentioned Ajaygaḍh inscription also asserts that Mahēśvara, who was born in the Vāstavya family (of the Kāyasthas), in recognition of his service rendered to Kirtivarman, who was in distress at Pitādri, earned for himself the grant of a village and the title of *Viśikha* of Kālāñjar.⁶ This statement, though it does not mention the exact type of distress falling upon the king, may also be taken, perhaps, as signifying Kirtivarman's attempts in recovering the lost glory of his house by regaining the throne, after the Kalachuri debacle, and also probably taking advantage of Karna's preoccupation in Mālava, against Bhōja.

The statements of the epigraphs noticed here are also corroborated by some literary evidences. The *Prabōdhachandrōdaya*, a drama on philosophical topics composed by Kṛishṇamiśra, has a number of expressions giving the credit of the victory to one Gōpāla

1 No. 109.

2 Nos. 110-112.

3 No. 113.

4 No. 145, v. 3, and No. 148, v. 19, respectively. In the latter of these *Inscriptions* the name of the king has peeled off but it is evidently that of Kirtivarman.

5 No. III, vv. 3 and 6. The word *mandala* is used here in the sense of the region and not to denote a district, as is generally found.

6 No. 112, v. 8.

who was a Chandēlla feudatory.¹ In the prologue of the work, Gōpāla is said to have been the Great Boar who brought up the earth which had emerged in the great ocean of world-destruction in the form of a multitude of kings.² In another passage in the main body of the drama, he is said to have obtained the goddess of victory by vanquishing the army of Karna; in still another passage he is described to have re-established the sovereignty of the kings of the lunar race, which had been destroyed by Karna in the form of Rudra; and, in the end, Gōpāla is described as causing the rise of the illustrious Kirtivarman, after subduing Karna, as discrimination leads to right knowledge after dispelling delusion.³ All the references indicate the magnitude of the task performed by Gōpāla, and thus we know that it was mainly due to his exertion and valour that Kirtivarman regained the throne. The part played by the other officers, as seen above, may also have contributed to the victory of Kirtivarman.

After his success in regaining the throne, Kirtivarman assumed the imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, as we find attached to his name in the Augasi grant of his great-grandson Madaravarman.⁴ The Ajaygaḍh stone inscription intimates that he "created anew the kingdom",⁵ which probably means that he took measures to establish the kingdom on sound footing by appointing efficient persons to look after all its functions well. The Mau stone inscription (v. 8) informs us that he introduced the seven elements (*saptāṅgas*) in the government of the kingdom.⁶

Vatsarāja, whose name has been mentioned above and who was the son of Mahidhara, was the Chief Minister under Kirtivarman. He constructed the hill-fort known as *Kirtigiri-durga*, evidently in honour of his master, and a flight of steps (*ghaṭṭa*), after his own name.⁷ Another officer under Kirtivarman was Mahēśvara, born in the family of Jājūka, who had served Gaṇḍa. He was a door-keeper at Kālāñjar.⁸ Still another minister under the king was Ananta, a learned Brāhmaṇa who had studied the Vēdas and who also knew how to control the forces of elephants and horses.⁹ He was the Superintendent of the forces of the town. By religion, he was a Śaiva. Still another officer under the king was Lakshmidhara of the Gaṇḍa lineage, who is said to have established Kirtivarman's kingdom.¹⁰ The office that this person held is not mentioned. The king's spiritual preceptor was Vāsudēva *alias* Śrīmūrti who constructed the pavilion of the Nilakanṭha temple at Kālāñjar.¹¹

Lastly, we may note Kirtivarman's attention to works of public interest, as is apparent from local traditions recorded by V.A. Smith, who writes that the Kirāt Sagar lake (*Kīrti-sāgar*?) to the west of Mahōbā and 11 miles in circumference, was excavated by Kirtivarman. Another lake of the same name and existing at Chandēri in the Gunā District is also associated with his name.¹² Cunningham also recorded a tradition, according

1 Hultzsch, and following him, V. Smith, took Gōpāla to be a Brāhmaṇa general of Kirtivarman. We have no reference to him as a Brāhmaṇa; and on the other hand, his description in the drama as one "on whose lotus-like feet were reflected the crest jewels of the circle of the feudatory princes", along with his adjective *rājā*-(1. 3 and p. 12, n.) leads me to agree with S.K. Mitra that he was at the head of the feudatory princes. See *E.R.K.*, p. 96.

2 p. 11.

3 pp. 18 f. and 21-22, respectively.

4 No. 118, ll. 2-3.

5 No. 145, v. 3.

6 See n. 8 to the text of the inscription referred to here.

7 No. 111, v. 7.

8 No. 112, v. 8.

9 No. 125, v. 30.

10 No. 147, v. 3.

11 No. 110, v. 3.

12 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 134 f., and *A.S.I.R.* Vol. II, p. 439.

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to which, the tank known as *Budhiyā-Tāl* in the fort of Kālāñjar is associated with the name of this king.¹

That Kirtivarman patronised men of letters is known from the drama *Prabodhachandrōdaya*, referred to above. It was written during his reign and staged in his presence, and as we know from the work itself, he took great interest in its performance.

SALLAKSHAṆAVARMAN

c. 1100 to c. 1110 A.C.

After establishing the kingdom on a sound footing and introducing a well-organised machinery of administration, Kirtivarman passed away some time towards the close of the eleventh century, and was succeeded by his son Sallakshaṇavarman.

The last known date of Kirtivarman, according to the Dēogaḍh stone inscription which we have referred to above, is V.S. 1154 or 1098 A.C., and as he had by this time enjoyed the throne for about thirty-eight years, we may assume that he died two or three years later, roughly to say, about 1100 A.C. The next known date supplied by an inscription at Khajurāhō, is V.S. 1173 (1117 A.C.), when his grandson, Jayavarman, was ruling; and the still next date we know is V.S. 1186 (1129-30 A.C.), when Madanavarman, the grandnephew of Jayavarman, was on the throne. Thus, during the period of thirty-two years which elapsed between Kirtivarman and Madanavarman, we have to fix three rulers in close succession, following the genealogy mentioned in the inscriptions, viz., Kirtivarman's son Sallakshaṇavarman and grandson Jayavarman, and the latter's uncle Prithivivarman, with some margin on either side. Relying on this assumption, we may well suppose that each of the three rulers enjoyed a short reign; and we may agree with Smith² who has proposed the approximate dates 1100-1110 A.C. for Sallakshaṇavarman and 1110-1117 A.C., say 1120 A.C. for Jayavarman.

We have so far no inscription of Sallakshaṇavarman,³ whose name figures as Hallakshaṇavarman on his coins, as we shall see in the relevant place. The Mau stone inscription of the time of his grandson Madanavarman describes him as "a leader of those versed in the sacred lore, a kinsman of the virtuous, a store of art and an abode of good conduct, and a tree of paradise to all suppliants for support".⁴ This description, though eulogistic, doubtless shows that he at least continued the efficient system of government introduced by his father, an idea of which has already been given above. The next verse describes in a figurative way the court of this ruler, which was full of kings doing homage to him, which also signifies that he was attended by numerous feudatories (*sāmānta-chakra*), a system organised by Gōpāla during the reign of Kirtivarman, as mentioned in the drama *Prabodhachandrōdaya*.

As for the military achievement of this ruler, the Ajaygaḍh inscription of the time of Viravarman, dated V.S. 1317 = 1261 A.C., informs us that "his sword took away the fortune of the Mālavas and the Chēdis".⁵ In our narration of the history of the Paramāras of Mālwa, it has been noticed that the western boundary of the Chandēlla kingdom was coterminous with that of the Paramāras on its east, and also that Sallakshaṇavarman

1 *Ibid.*, p. 135.

2 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

3 A fragmentary stone inscription in characters of about the 11th or 12th century was found in the ruined fort of Jhānsi. It appears to mention the names of Kirtivarman and Udayāditya. But it also contains the name of Sallakshaṇasimha. Kielhorn, who edited the record in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 214 ff., did not see 'any cogent reason' for identifying this ruler with the Chandēlla prince Sallakshaṇavarman. The stone is now in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

4 No. 125, v. 9.

5 No. 145, v. 4.

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had a struggle with his contemporary Naravarman, who was being troubled by his enemies on all sides. However, the struggle, of which we have no details, does not appear to have extended the limits of his dominions on this side.

Sallakshavarman's contemporary on the throne of Tripuri was Yaśahkarna, whose accession has been placed in c. 1073 A.C. He was a weak ruler, lacking the military dash of his father, Karṇa; and there is nothing to his credit except his successful invasion of the Āndhra country, as recorded in the Khairhā and the Jabalpur plates.¹ The northern portion of his kingdom, comprising the regions of Kanauj and Vārānasi and the Gaṅgā-Yamunā *Doab*, was lost to the Gahadavālas who came into prominence in the latter part of the eleventh century A.C.,² and Yaśahkarna failed in his subsequent attempt to regain his lost portion of his kingdom.³ The defeat he had sustained at the hands of the Paramāra Lakshmadēva has already been noticed above, in the history of the Paramāras.

It is possible to assume that taking advantage of Yaśahkarna's weakness, and also of the situation prevailing in the surrounding-country, Sallakshavarman invaded the Kalachuri kingdom, though we cannot definitely say that this expedition resulted in annexation of any part thereof. Or, it may be that Sallakshavarman came to a clash with the Kalachuri forces when they were on their campaign in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā *Doab* to regain their lost territory, as seen above. And this is perhaps how we can interpret Sallakshavarman's victory in the *Antar-vēdī-vishaya*, the only expression that remains in verse 38 of the Mau stone inscription referred to above.⁴

In his Ratanpur inscription, Jājalla (1090-1120 A.C.), the Kalachuri king of South Kōsala, boasts that he was honoured as an ally by the rulers of Kānyakubja and Jējābhukti, with presents of wealth, "because he was valiant".⁵ Mentioning that three Chandēlla kings, viz., Kirtivarman, Sallakshavarman and Jayavarman ruled contemporaneously with Jājalla, V.V. Mirashi held that "Sallakshavarman was probably Jājalla's ally".⁶ This is an example of how this Chandēlla ruler strengthened his relations with the contemporary political powers by seeking their alliance.

We have some information about the administrative structure of the State under Sallaksha. The Mau stone inscription informs us that Ananta, who was the Chief Minister under Kirtivarman, continued under this ruler also in the same capacity. Ananta's sons, Vatsa, Vishṇu, Gadādhara, Vāmana and Pradyumna, were also appointed by Sallakshavarman, after they had been properly tried, to suitable posts, as found proper. It was probably Gadādhara who "cleared the country of thorns, dissipated the fears of the subjects, and, in an unparalleled manner, increased the royal treasure and power".⁷ Here it is significant to note how the king interviewed persons for appointment and at the same time also considered heredity. The Ajaygaḍh inscription of Sallakshavarman's successor Viravarman mentions the name of Yaśahpāla, another officer under him.⁸ The verse mentioning his name is fragmentary and the name of the office that this personage held is lost. Perhaps he was Chief Minister succeeding Ananta.

1 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 56 and 57.

2 The Chandravati plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 304 ff. For details, see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IX, p. cii.

3 *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 123.

4 No. 125. S.K. Mitra interpreted this verse so as to guess Sallakshavarman's attempt to recapture Kanauj, for which see *E.R.K.*, p. 108. The verse is completely lost but from what remains it can also be conjectured that the Chandēlla king went to the *Doab* to help the Gahadavāla Gōvindachandra, who, as prince in the time of his father Madanapāla, who was Sallaksha's contemporary, fought a number of battles. For the account of both the Gahadavāla rulers, see *H.K.*, pp. 305 ff. But Mitra's suggestion is after all a conjecture which need not be stretched far.

5 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 77, ll. 22-23.

6 *Ibid.*, p. cxxiv.

7 No. 125, vv. 38-39.

8 No. 146, v. 3.

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JAYAVARMAN

c. 1110 to c. 1120 A.C.

From the Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman we learn that Sallakshavarman was succeeded by his son Jayavarman.¹ This statement is corroborated by the Ajaygadh rock inscription of the time of Viravarman.² That Jayavarman had a very short reign as already been seen above. His name is omitted in the Augasi grant of Madanavarman, which supplies three names - Kirtivarman, his son Prithivivarman and the latter's son Madanavarman.³ The reason for the omission of the name of Jayavarman along with that of his father Sallakshavarman, who were respectively the grandson and son of Kirtivarman, is evidently due to the fact that both these rulers belonged to a collateral line.

We have no epigraph of Jayavarman himself, except that he got "re-written, in clear letters," the Khajurāhō stone inscription of V.S. 1173 = 1117 A.C., of the time of Dhaṅga, and set it up.⁴

The afore-mentioned Mau inscription describes this ruler as "an abode of generosity, truthfulness, policy and heroism, whose majesty, like the rising Sun deprives other princes of their lustre." The Khajurāhō inscription which we have just referred to above, also says that his fame spread in all directions. But we have nothing to verify these vague hyperbolic statements. This ruler is not known to have led any military expedition. That he was a man of pacific nature and religious temperament will be shown presently.

As to the administration of this ruler, we learn from the Mau inscription that subsequent to the death of Ananta who was the Chief Minister under his father Kirtivarman and who abandoned his body in the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, his son, Gadādhara, was appointed by Jayavarman, 'near his own presence', as his door-keeper (*prātihārye niyuktaḥ*). This person was well versed in sciences, military tactics and secret counsel. Another officer under this ruler was the Kāyastha Jayapāla of the Gauda lineage, who wrote again the Khajurāhō inscription, a reference to which has already been made above.

PRITHVIVARMAN

c. 1120 to c. 1125 (?) A.C.

Jayavarman, as we are informed by the Mau stone inscription, was succeeded by Prithivivarman, who was Sallakshavarman's co-uterine younger brother (*sōdarō = varajaḥ*)⁵ and thus an uncle of Jayavarman. In the light of this information, the statement of the Ajaygadh inscription, which uses the word *tasmāt* after Jayavarman to introduce Prithivivarman, should be taken not in the sense of "his son" but to mean 'after him' (*tasmāt = anantaram*).

The procedure of an uncle succeeding his nephew appears to be rather unusual though not altogether unknown to history and here we may cite another example from the history of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri when the sons of Kāliyaballāla were superseded by Bhīllama V.,⁶ though it leads us to the assumption of some family struggle or war of succession. But here the Kālāṅjar stone inscription of the time of Viravarman comes to our aid. It clearly states that Jayavarman was devoted to Nārāyaṇa, and being wearied of shouldering the responsibilities of government, he placed the burden on the shoulders

1 No. 125, v. 11.

2 No. 145, v. 4. This account is supported by the Ajaygadh rock inscription of the time of Viravarman.

3 No. 118, II. 3-5.

4 No. 114, vv. 63-64.

5 No. 125, v. 12.

6 Cf. *Mahīpatēs = tasya viḥāya putrān, guṇ-ānuraktā Yada-varṇa-lakṣmīḥ* I Śrī-Bhīllamaṁ tasya tataḥ *prīṭivyaṁ = avyāḥ-arājād-bhujam = ājagāma* II in *Rājaprasasti* I, v. 37, quoted in *E.H.D.*, p. 242.

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of....., and proceeded to the Ganges. Here the name of the person whom Jayavarman entrusted with the government has unfortunately peeled off but it was evidently that of Prithivivarman. Thus we may conclude that Jayavarman, who possessed religious bent of mind and who had no male issue, abdicated his throne in favour of his uncle, Prithivivarman.

No historical event of the reign of Prithivivarman is known so far. The Mau inscription describes him as "hating the ill-behaved (and) greatly delighting the worthy people, desirous of taking lawful wealth (and) then expanding it according to prescript of sacred objects, carefully protecting all beings and wholly intent on securing prosperity of conduct."¹ This description is no doubt conventional but it is indicative of his peaceful rule and also shows that he maintained the boundaries of his kingdom intact.

We have seen that Gadādhara, the son of a former minister, Ananta, was appointed by Jayavarman in the office of the royal door-keeper; the same person, who was found intelligent, clever, bold and a hero able to control elephants, horses and chariots, was raised by Prithivivarman to the high office of his Chief Minister.²

Gadādhara was an able administrator as well as a warrior, and he made the kingdom prosperous in all its constituent parts (*sarvair-aṅgair samṛiddham*), and it was due to the administrative ability of his Chief Minister that Prithivivarman succeeded in governing the kingdom efficiently in those troublesome times when the neighbouring rulers were struggling with each other for supremacy and pre-eminence.

MADANAVARMAN

c. 1125 to c. 1163 A.C.

As we are told by the fragmentary Mau stone inscription, Prithivivarman was succeeded by his son Madanavarman,³ the known dates of whose reign range from 1129-30 to 1157-58 A.C.⁴ Nine stone inscriptions and two copper-plate records of his time have been included here,⁵ besides some others which are only referred to. The inscriptions were discovered at Kālāñjar, Ajaygaḍh, Mahōbā, Khajurāhō and Mau (Jhānsi Dist.), indicating that his sway extended to the whole of the Chandēlla kingdom, including the strongholds of Ajaygaḍh and Kālāñjar. Of the copper-plate charters, one was found at Augasi (Banda Dist.); it was issued by him in V.S. 1190 or 1134 A.C., from his camp at Bhilsa (*Bhīllasvāmī-samāp-āvasē*), and the find-spot of the other, which is dated V.S. 1192 = 1136, is not known.

From the account of the house given previously it will be seen that following Kirtivarman, who succeeded in regaining the kingdom from the mighty Kalachuri Karna, none of his successors was ambitious enough to undertake any expedition, though holding intact the dominion in his charge. And we find that Madanavarman, who inherited the military spirit of his grandfather Kirtivarman, emulated him in embarking on a career of conquest. The aforementioned Mau stone inscription of his time states that he possessed strong arms and it also makes a bold statement in his favour by saying that "before whose name even, ever quickly flees the Chēḍī king, vanquished in fierce fight; (and) through dread of whom the king of Kāśī always passes his time in friendly behaviour; by whom moreover, that ruler of Mālava, full of arrogance, was quickly exterminated, while other monarchs, paying homage to him, have enjoyed supreme comfort" (v. 15).

1 No. 125, v. 13.

2 No. *Ibid.*, v. 41.

3 *Ibid.*, v. 14.

4 The Sēmra grant of his grandson, Paramardīn, states that the donation was made by Madanavarman in V.S. 1219 = 1163 A.C., showing that he was on the throne in that year.

5 For stone inscriptions, see Nos. 115-117 and 120-125, and for copper-plate, Nos. 118-119.

Making allowance for the expressions of the courtly panegyrist, we now proceed to study Madanavarman's campaigns. As to his expedition against the Chēdis, the name of the ruler who entered into a clash with him is not given, but here we have to recall what we have stated above, namely, that the Kalachuri Yaśahkarna has suffered a defeat at the hands of Madanavarman's uncle, Sallakshanavarman. Yaśahkarna's son and successor, Gayākarna (1123-1153 A.C.), was not only unable to retrieve the situation but during his reign the prestige of his house went further down. Ratnadēva II of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala (1120-1135 A.C.), whose forefathers were the feudatories of the Tripuri rulers, openly renounced subordination to Gayākarna.¹ Taking advantage of the situation, Madanavarman appears to have made an encroachment on some of the Kalachuri territories bordering on the Chandēlla kingdom. The discovery of a hoard of Madanavarman's silver coins at Panwār in the Teōnthā *tehsil* of the former Rēwā State (now a district in Madhya Pradesh) in 1910 A.C. has been taken by some scholars to indicate that it was this part of the country that was annexed by the Chandēlla ruler from Gayākarna.²

According to the testimony of the afore-mentioned Mau inscription, Madanavarman incorporated into his dominion some of the territory of Mālava also. We have already seen that the region on the eastern side of the Bētṡā comprising Dudāhi and Dēogaḍh was already in the possession of the Chandēllas even before Madanavarman;³ and taking advantage of the weakness of the Paramāra house, which was then occupied in a long-protracted war against its western adversaries, the Chaulūkyas of Gujarāt, against whom all its military resources had to be directed, Madanavarman appears to have encroached further upon some of the Mālava territory which lay on the western side of the river. This is evidenced by the Augasī grant, dated V.S. 1190, which he issued near Bhīlasvāmin (Bhīlsā or Vidishā) and also by the situation of the villages mentioned in it, which are all on the western side of the river.

The Mau inscription does not give the name of the Mālava ruler who is said to have been defeated by Madanavarman, and he is generally identified with Yaśōvarman.⁴ A study of our records enables us to say something definitely on the point. The grant in which the Paramāra Yaśōvarman proclaims himself as an independent sovereign was dated in October or November of 1135 A.C.,⁵ and the Augasī charter of Madanavarman bears a date which corresponds to 12th January, 1134 A.C., which was the last year of the reign of Naravarman. A comparison of both these dates shows that it was some time either in the last year of the reign of Naravarman or the first year of that of Yaśōvarman that the Chandēlla ruler succeeded in establishing his authority on the region from Bhīlsā in the south to Lalitpur in the north, on the western side of the Bētṡā and in the upper valley of the river. Some time subsequently, Madanavarman succeeded in extending his sway in parts of the lower valley of the river also, as we know from the Sēmra grant recording his donation of some villages in the *vishayas* of Vikaura, Dudhai (Dudāhi) and Vaḍavāri from his camp at Vāridurga, in V.S. 1219 or 1163 A.C. This grant was confirmed by his grandson Paramardin, in V.S. 1223 = 1167 A.C.⁶ This extension appears to have been made at the cost of the Kalachuris who were then holding this region.

After establishing his sway over the Bētṡā valley, Madanavarman seems to have entered into a clash with the Chaulūkyas Jayasimha, who had during this time succeeded

1 The Ratanpur inscription of Ratnadēva II, for which see *C.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 93, l. 5, and *ibid.*, p. cv.

2 *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. X(N.S.), pp. 199 f. Here it may be pointed out that a find of coins is not always a sure indication of the king's hold on the place of the find. Here it may also be pointed out that Madanavarman's success in this region was only temporary and it was reconquered by Gayākarna's son Narasimha (1153-63 A.C.), as we learn from two inscriptions of his time and dated 1156 and 1159 A.C. See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 61-62 and p. cvi.

3 See Nos. 101-106 and No. 111, respectively.

4 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 229.

5 No. 38.

6 No. 126, ll. 7-13.

in incorporating the country of Mālwa into his dominions, imprisoning its ruler, Yaśovarman. The fragmentary Kālāñjar stone inscription of the time of Viravarman states that he (Madanavarman) "in an instance defeated the king of Gūrjara, as Kṛishṇa defeated Kaṁsa".¹ The Gūrjara king must evidently be taken as Jayasimha Siddharāja; and if Madanavarman had really defeated him, the victory would have been recorded in glowing words in some other Chandēlla inscriptions also, which is not really the case. At the most, therefore, what may be assumed is that desiring to capture some portion of the falling kingdom of Mālwa, he may have penetrated further into it but all his efforts appear to have been foiled by Jayasimha.

On the other hand, the Gujarāt chroniclers refer to Jayasimha's invasion on the lord of Kālāñjar. The *Kumārāpālacharita* (I, 42) records Jayasimha's success over Madanavarman and also states that peace was ultimately concluded between them.² In view of all these statements it would appear that in their advance both the parties may have encountered each other and ultimately entered into a sort of truce, the details of which are not known. The reason why Jayasimha entered into a treaty with Madanavarman is not known but may be conjectured; it appears that possibly he could not spend more time in Mālwa, since soon after his success in that region, his intention may have been to proceed against the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa who were the kinsmen of the main branch ruling in Mālwa. The details of his expedition in Vāgaḍa have been discussed above, in the history of that branch.

To the north and east of the Chandēlla kingdom stretched the great territory of the Gahadavālas of Kanauj, with their second capital at Kāśī or Vārāṇasī.³ Madanavarman's contemporary on the Gāhādavāla throne was Gōvindachandra whose accession has been placed between 1109 and 1114 A.C.,⁴ and he is known not only as extending his hereditary dominion by annexing portions of Magadha and defeating the Kalachuri Yaśahikarna but also in particularly succeeding in hurling back the Muslim expedition sent by Masūd III (1098-1115 A.C.), against Kanauj, "the capital of Hind".⁵ And Therefore the statement of the Mau inscription, namely, that Madanavarman maintained cordial relations with the *Kāśī-rāja*, has to be interpreted to show that both these mighty rulers, viz., Madanavarman and Gōvindachandra, realised each other's power and strength, and entered into an alliance of friendship.

Madanavarman was one of the greatest Chandēlla kings. His military skill along with his administrative ability not only raised the power and prestige of his house at its meridian, but also extended the bounds of his realm on the west, beyond the other side of the Bētwa, and on the south in the region of Teḍnhar, as already seen above. The Mau inscription which we have often referred to above, describes him as a brave general leading expeditions, in its usual hyperbolic expressions.⁶ The Baṭeśvara stone inscription of the time of his grandson Paramardin, dated V.S. 1252 = 1195 A.C., describes him in a conventional way, which at least shows that he defeated and curbed his enemies in battles.⁷ The Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of V.S. 1317 = 1261 A.C. records that "he

1 No. 148 v. 33.

2 Jayasimha's invasion of Kālāñjar is also referred to in the *Kirtikaumudī* and other chronicles of Gujarāt. See *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 178 f.; C.G., pp. 76 f.

3 For the details of this second capital, see *H.K.*, pp. 324 ff.

4 Respectively see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 16 f., and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 102. Also see *H.K.*, p. 307, and n. 3.

5 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Raverty's trans., Vol. I, p. 107; and Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 526. Also see *H.K.*, pp. 308 f. Also see *ibid.*, pp. 323-24, where a statement of the *Rambhāmajari* (Act I, pp. 5-6) viz., that "Jayachandra's arms were like pillars to tie down the elephant-like godless of Madanavarman's royal fortune", is shown to be baseless and not to be relied on.

6 No. 125, v. 16.

7 No. 130, v. 57.

ever wrangled (as a thorn) in the minds of his foes".¹ Much of his success was due to his Chief Minister Gadādhara, who was in charge of his administrative machinery and who served Madanavarman's father, Prithivivarman also, in the same capacity, as already seen, and who made him an absolute monarch of the whole earth (Chandēlla kingdom). This inscription testifies to the ability of this minister by saying that "he made the government of this king proper in all its constituent parts.... having gradually reduced all princes to the state of dependency by applying to six expedients (*shūḍgunyādi-prayōgaih*) and so forth, each in due season, he made (the king's) sovereignty over the earth characterised by a single umbrella".²

The same inscription also tells us that Gadādhara constructed a temple in honour of Nārāyaṇa, excavated a tank at the village Dēddu and a stepped well at the village known as Kēṇḍi (vv. 46-49).

Madanavarman also took interest in excavating tanks. The *Madanasāgara* at Mahōbā still preserves the memory of this ruler; and another tank bearing the same name and existing at Ahār is mentioned in the inscription from that place.³

We find that Gadādhara served the house for three generations, under the kings Jayavarman, Prithivivarman and Madanavarman, and therefore he must have been a very old man at the time of the last named ruler. He was succeeded by Lahaḍa, as Chief Minister. The latter was a Brāhmaṇa, well versed in the Vēdas.⁴

Madanavarman had three queens, viz., Lakhamā (Lakhami)-dēvi, Vālhaṇadēvi and Chāndala(or Chandēla)-dēvi, as we learn from the Bhārat-Kalā-Bhavan grant of V.S. 1192 (1138 A.C.)⁵ An inscription discovered at Kālāñjar informs us that he had a younger brother of the name of Pratāpavarman.⁶ It is the only record mentioning this prince and the latter half of the verse giving all the information about this person has unfortunately peeled off, leaving us in dark as to what was recorded about him in it. Presumably, he was entrusted with some administrative functions.

YAŚŌVARMAN (II)

The latest known year of Madanavarman is V.S. 1219 or 1163 A.C. when he made gifts recorded in the Sēmra plates, as seen above, and the earliest known date of his grandson Paramardin is V.S. 1223 = 1167 A.C., when the same gifts were confirmed.⁷ During this short span of four years, we have to fix the reign of Yaśōvarman, who was Madanavarman's son and whose existence is revealed only by the Baṭeśvara (Baghāri) stone inscription which was registered during the reign of Paramardin, in V.S. 1252 = 1195 A.C.⁸ Thus we see that Yaśōvarman, who succeeded his father Madanavarman some time after 1163 A.C., reigned for an extremely short period, the duration of which cannot be precisely known. It is also possible that on account of his short career in which nothing worth mentioning was achieved, his name does not figure in any other inscription, or, to hold, that he may not have even ascended the throne.

H.C. Ray has suggested that verse 9 of the Baṭeśvara record hints at an untimely end of the career of Yaśōvarman, which indicates that there might have been some sort

1 No. 145, v. 5.

2 No. 125, v. 42.

3 No. 133, v. 3.

4 No. 139, vv. 19-20.

5 No. 119, ll. 23 and 27-28.

6 No. 148, v. 36.

7 See No. 126, ll. 12-13. In his *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 448, Cunningham enlisted a pedestal inscription from Mahōbā, dated V.S. (1163 A.C.), in the reign of Madanavarman. According to this, the king appears to have continued at least up to this year.

8 No. 139, vv. 8-9.

of dynastic troubles and that Paramardin achieved the throne at the cost of his father.¹ This suggestion which has no base to stand upon can hardly be accepted, as also noticed by some other scholars.²

The bardic lists given in *A.S.I.R.* Vol. II, p. 449 insert a Kirtivarman between Madanavarman and Paramardin; and following this, V. Smith has drawn our attention to the point that the name of Yaśovarman may have been intended here, since the word *kīrti* is synonymous with *yaśas* (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. IXIV, Pt. 1, p. 158). But this does not necessarily show that this prince actually came to the throne. That Madanavarman was the grandfather of Paramardin is also known from the Sēmrā grant (No. 126, l. 13), using the expression *asmat pitāmahēna* on the part of the latter-mentioned ruler.

PARAMARDIN

c. 1166 (?) to 1202 A.C.

Paramardin, as shown above, was the son of Yaśovarman, whom he succeeded in the normal course of events, some time before 27th April, 1167 A.C. when he issued the Sēmrā grant.³ For the history of this king we have eight stone inscriptions and seven copper-plate records showing the dates ranging from V.S. 1223 (1167 A.C.) to V.S. 1258 (1201 A.C.).⁴ The stone inscriptions were found at Mahōbā, Ajaygadh, Ahār (Tikamgadh Dist.), Baṭeśvara⁵ (Agra Dist.) and Kālāñjar, indicating that this ruler held under his sway the whole of the region inherited by him; and the copper-plate grants were all issued by him from his camps outside the capital, showing that he passed most of his time in expeditions. Five of them were found, one each, at Sēmrā (Chhatarpur), Ichchhāvar (Bāndā), Mahōbā (Hamirpur), Pachhār (Jhānsi) and Charkhāri (Hamirpur), and the find-spots of the remaining two are unknown. But none of the grants mention any historical event.

From the Ajaygadh stone inscription of the time of his grandson Viravarman, dated V.S. 1317 = 1261 A.C., we learn that Paramardin came to the throne when he was still a child.⁶ This statement is corroborated by the *Paramāl Rāsō*, stating that he became king at the age of five.⁷

The period of the reign of this king has been split up in three distinct phases, namely, (a) his accession and early career; (b) the hostility between the Chandēllas and the Chāhamānas; and (c) the Muslim invasion.⁸

In our study of the first of these phases, which roughly extended from his accession to 1181 A.C., covering the first fifteen years of his reign, as already remarked above, we find him ruling over the entire dominion effectively and peacefully. The second phase of his reign begins in 1182 A.C., when we find that the Chauhān ruler Prithvirāja III, who assumed the reigns of administration in V.S. 1237 = 1180 A.C., marched against the country of Jējākabhukti in the course of *digvijaya*. The Chandēlla sources are silent on this episode, but the description of the Chauhān ruler's march and his struggle with Paramardin is given in the bardic tales recorded in the *Prithvirāja Rāsō* of Chand Bardāi, *Paramāl Rāsō* (Mahōbā Khanda) and *Ālhā Rāsō* by Jaganika, of course, with the free

1 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 713.

2 For example, by S.K. Mitra; see *E.R.K.*, p. 118. For all these details, see our remarks in No. 139, below.

3 No. 126.

4 Nos. 126-140.

5 For the uncertainty of the find of the stone, see our remarks in the edition of the inscription (No. 139).

6 No. 145, v. 6.

7 P. 28, v. 102.

8 As rightly suggested in *E.R.K.*, p. 119.

mixture of facts with fiction and exaggerations. According to them, the motive of the raid is as follows: Some of the soldiers of Prithvirāja, while returning to Delhi after his marriage with the daughter of one Padmasēna, lost their way and came to Mahōbā, where they entered the royal garden, and being prohibited by the gardener, they struck him down. This information soon reached Paramardin (Parmāl, as he is mentioned in them), who became enraged and sent some forces to punish the Chauhān soldiers; and knowing this, Prithvirāja became provoked and decided to curb the pride of his adversary, by taking hostile steps. He ordered his troops to march against the Chandēlla king. A stiff fight ensued between the two armies, in which the forces of Paramardin, led by the Banāphara heroes Ālhā and Ūdala, suffered heavier losses and casualties.¹

It is true that the bardic tales depict the story in their own way; but we may well believe that the general outline stated in them may be fairly correct. The defeat of Paramardin at the hands of Prithvirāja is corroborated by the latter's inscriptions at Madanapur,² accord to which, he laid waste the country of Jējākabhukti, after defeating Paramardin, in V.S. 1239 or 1182 A.C. Indication to the same is also found in a stray verse in the *Sāraṅgadhara-paddhati*, and the *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* also informs us that Paramardin saved himself by putting a piece of straw in his mouth, when attacked by Prithvirāja.³

The *Prithvirāja Rāsō* and the *Ālhā Khaṇḍa* also state that Paramardin obtained some succour from an army of Kanauj. This appears to be not unlikely in view of the Chandēlla king maintaining cordial relations established by his house with the rulers of Kanauj, as already seen above. But this statement is not corroborated by any epigraph.

Prithvirāja's intention in leading this campaign against Paramardin was not to annex any part of the latter's kingdom but only to curb his pride. And soon after this victory he returned to Delhi. We are therefore unable to agree with H.C. Ray who, from the title of *Daśārṇādhīpati* in the Kālāñjar inscription of 1201 A.C. given to Paramardin held that he succeeded in recovering a substantial portion of his lost territory.⁴ In fact, no territory was lost.

The bards further state that Prithvirāja appointed Pajjuna Rāi, one of his generals, as a governor of Mahōbā, and also that Parmāl, who was made captive by Prithvirāja, managed to release himself but out of sense of shame voluntarily put an end to his life at the Gajrāj temple, or, according to still another tale, retired to Gayā where he died.⁵ All these statements appear to be later fabrications, in view of the epigraphic evidences that we possess. For we have an inscription from Kālāñjara and another from Mahōbā, both dated in 1184 A.C.⁶ i.e., in two years of the time of the struggle; and both of which were discovered at the Chandēlla strongholds evidently show that Paramardin who was on the throne at that time survived his defeat. His latest known date is furnished by another Kālāñjar stone inscription, dated in 1201 A.C.;⁷ this is indeed an evidence in favour of the view that he continued to live for twenty years after his contest with Prithvirāja. This view is corroborated by Muslim accounts.⁸

1 See *ibid.*, pp. 120 ff.

2 *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. X, p. 98; *A.S.I.R., W.C.*, 1903-04, p. 55.

3 Also see *P.C.M.*, p. 118, where Paramardin is referred to as king of Kuntala even though his adversary is mentioned as Prithvirāja of Sapādalaksha. So the actual Paramardin meant by the verse of the *P.R.* as also observed by D. Sharma, is the Chandēlla Paramardin, a contemporary of Prithvirāja. See *E.C.D.*, p. 75, n. 17.

4 See *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 720.

5 See *J.A.S.B.*, 1881, Pt. I, p. 29. Some of these statements may probably be connected with Paramardin's defeat at the hands of Albag.

6 Nos. 135 and 136, respectively.

7 No. 140.

8 Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 231 f.; and Briggs, *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 197.

The Kālāñjar stone inscription, which we have just referred to, describes Paramardin as the supreme lord (*adhirāja*) of Daśārṇa, evidently the Western Daśārṇa situated in the valley of the Dhasan and comprising the Jhānsi-Tikamgaḍh region. The Sēmra grant of his grandfather Madanavarman, which was confirmed by him in 1167 A.C., mentions some places which are included in the same territory; and, as shown by the title, he appears to have continued his hold of this region to the end of his reign. He also seems to have subdued the Kalachuri king Jayasimha (1163-88 A.C.), as concluded from v. 6 of the fragmentary Mahōbā inscription dated V. 1240 (1184 A.C.).

Paramardin is known to have entrusted his Chief Minister Sallakṣhaṇa with the government of the kingdom, but his over-indulgence in licentiousness with women, as we are informed by vv. 22-23 of the Baṭeśvara stone inscription, appears to have been the cause of his failure in defending the kingdom against the more formidable foes, namely, the Turks, who had by this time conquered the Northern *Doāb* and the surrounding country touching the north western border of the Chandēlla dominions. These enemies first began to raid the outposts of his kingdom, and in 1202 A.C., as we learn from *Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir*, Kutb-ud-din, accompanied by Sāhibkiran and Shamsuddin Altamash and others, invaded Kālāñjar and besieged it.¹ Paramardin closed himself in the fort, but in spite of offering a strong resistance, he was defeated and constrained to surrender. Aibak welcomed this opportunity. But while arrangements for paying the tribute were being made, Paramardin died, and his minister Āj Deo resolved to hold out, reorganising his forces. Firishta, however, would have us believe that the minister caused his master to be assassinated,² but this story is not accepted by all. As the reservoir of water in the fort, which the minister held to serve the purpose, dried up due to a severe drought, in spite of the strong will and all efforts, the fort ultimately fell to the Muslims in April, 1203 A.C. This was followed by pillage, ruthless massacre and demolishing temples and raising mosques from their material. The government of the place was conferred on Hazabbaruddin Hasan Arnal.

After he occupied Kālāñjar, Aibak proceeded towards Mahōbā and subdued it. We have reasons to agree with S.K. Mitra in disagreeing with H.C. Ray, who thinks that Mahōbā and the surrounding regions were no longer parts of the Chandēlla dominions.³

Paramardin was the last great king of the Chandēlla dynasty. As already stated above, we have as many as fifteen inscriptions of his time, the number exceeding those of the time of any other ruler of his house. He was virtuous and bountiful,⁴ and was also esteemed by his subjects. We find in him a queer combination of bravery and licentiousness. In his own composition of the Kālāñjar stone inscription which aims at paying homage to Śiva, he takes pride in calling himself a *śringāra-vira-vrat-ācharya*.⁵ He was a devoted worshipper of Śiva, as also shown by the expression *Parama-Māhēśvara* attached to his name in each of the charters issued by him.

Paramardin's warlike spirit and literary attainments are poetically described in the Baṭeśvara inscription (v.11), which says that he "brought about the union of both fortune and the goddess of Learning (in his own person)". The same record also reports that his court was crowded with feudatory princes (v.10).

1 *Ibid.*

2 *T.F.*, Vol. I, p. 197. The contemporary writer *Tāj ul-Ma'asir* says that Paramardin died a natural death, which is supported by the *P. Rāsō* stating that he retired to Gayā. The testimony of Firishta is a later fabrication.

3 See *E.R.K.*, p. 127. For Ray's view, see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 722. Ray's observation is based on the statement of Firishta who mentions Mahōbā as 'the capital of the principality of Kālpi'. But, as we have often seen, Firishta's statements are not always to be taken quite correct.

4 No. 136, v. 3.

5 No. 140.

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As to the administrative machinery of this king, we have already seen that his Chief Minister was Sallakshana. His chamberlain (*kañchukin*) was Gaṅgādhara of the Vāstavya family.¹ Another officer under him was Mahipāla, who is mentioned in an inscription from Ajaygaḍh; the portion showing the duty of this officer is lost.² The department of Dharma (Judiciary) under the king was being supervised successively, by the Vāstavya Kāyastha Prithvidhara, his successor Śubhānanda and the latter's successor *Thakkura* Vishnuka. The first of these persons drafted three grants, the second, two, and the third, only one.³

TRAILŌKYAVARMAN

c. 1205 to 1240-41 A.C. (or 1247?)

Paramardin was succeeded by Trailōkyavarman whose relationship with his predecessor is not definitely known but who may have been his son. He was also known as Trailōkyamalla.

We have already referred to the statement of the *Prithvirāja Rāsō*, viz., that the Chāhamāna king captured Mahōbā and placed his general Pajjuna Rāy as the *Thānāpati* of that city. The same authority also informs us that this city was recaptured by Samarjit, a son of Paramāl, with the help of Narasiṃha, an officer of Rājā Jaichand of Kanauj, and he ruled over the whole territory between Kālāñjar and Gayā. H.C. Ray may be right in discarding the whole account since the genealogical lists in the Chandēlla inscriptions do not contain the name of this son of Paramardin, and on the contrary, they seem to mention Trailōkyavarman as his immediate successor.⁴ But we have no definite evidence either for accepting or rejecting the whole account of the *Rāsō*, and I therefore feel inclined to hold that Prithvirāja, though he had not proceeded up to Mahōbā in his invasion, may have captured a part of the Chandēlla kingdom around Madanpur, the find-spot of his inscriptions, and may have placed the portion acquired by him in the charge of Pajjuna Rāy, who was subsequently driven away by Samarjit.

As to the objection that the name of Samarjit does not occur in the genealogical lists in the Chandēlla inscriptions, it may be pointed out that the name of Madanavarman's brother, Pratāpa is given only in the fragmentary inscription from Kālāñjar (No. 148), and that of Paramardin's father, Yaśovarman, is found only in the Baṭeśvar inscription (No. 139). Some more examples of the type may also be cited. We also know that Samarjit was ultimately killed by Binau-ud-din, a Musalman,⁵ and the inscriptions may not have referred to his inglorious name, as that of the Paramāra Jayasiṃha, Bhōja's immediate successor who is known to us only from his Māndhātā grant (No. 18) and mentioned in no other record of the house.

In all, five inscriptions of the reign of Trailōkyavarman have been so far known.⁶ Four of them are all on copper-plates. The first two of these, both of which are dated in the same year V.S. 1261 (1205 A.C.), are royal charters issued by Trailōkyavarman bearing the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, along with that of *Kālāñjarādhipati*, i.e., the sole lord of Kālāñjara; they register the grants of the villages of Kādōha in the Pāniūli *vishaya* and of Lōhasihāni in that of Vikraunī, respectively, to *Rāuta* Sāmanta, whose father Pāpē was killed in an encounter with the Turushkas, i.e., the Turks. The gifts were made for the maintenance of the family of the deceased.⁷

1 No. 150, v. 10.

2 No. 147, v. 7.

3 Nos. 126, 129, 130, 131, 132 and 134, respectively.

4 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 722.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Nos. 141 (A and B), 142 and 143, and No. 191 which is on stone.

7 No. 141 (A and B). In B the name of the donee figures as *Sāvanta*.

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Of the remaining two of the four records referred to above, one is a royal grant dated V.S. 1264 (1208 A.C.), and the other,¹ which registers a mortgage business, was dated in K. year 967 = 1212 A.C.¹

In the account of Paramardin we have seen that after occupying the fort of Kālāñjar in 1203 A.C., Qutb-ud-din appointed Hasan Arnal as its governor. But the epithet of *Kālāñjarādhipati* applied to Trailōkyavarman in his grants is distinctly indicative of his recovery of the fort from the Muslim governor. The first two of the grants made by this ruler with the explicit mention of *Mrityuka-vṛitti*, i.e., maintenance of the family of a deceased warrior and also that of the encounter with the Turks (*Turushka-yuddha*) are explicit enough to show that shortly after the catastrophe of the loss of the fort, Trailōkyavarman re-organised his forces, attacked the Muslim governor and the other officers at Kālāñjar, and not only drove them away from there but also pursued them up to Kakaḍadaha (in Jhānsi Dist.) where an encounter appears to have taken place, in which they were defeated and in which Pāpē also lost his life. It is significant to note here that the fortress was recovered by the Chandēlla forces within the time of two years, in 1205 A.C., when both these grants were made.

Confirmation to this claim may further be had from the Ajaygaḍh inscription of Viravarman, dated V.S. 1317 (1261 A.C.), which says that "Like Viṣṇu he (Trailōkyavarman) was dextrous in lifting up the earth, immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of Turushkas".² The same verse also avers that "he was a creator in providing strong places", and this expression signifies that he strengthened those fortresses which already existed and probably also built new ones, realising their importance in that age.

Here we may also examine what is stated in the *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*, viz., that in the year 631 A.H. (1233 A.C.) Malik Nusrat-ud-din Tai-shi led an army from Gwaliyur towards Kālāñjar, causing discomfiture to the Rae of Kālāñjar who had not the courage to face his enemy and who fled away.³ This statement, though not verified from any other source, clearly indicates, at least, that the fort was held by the Chandēlla ruler in 1233 A.C. And in view of it and in the light of the above-quoted evidence of the Ajaygaḍh inscription, viz., that Trailōkyavarman was "a creator in providing strong places", it may probably be held that owing to the repeated disturbances, the capital may have been temporarily shifted to Ajaygaḍh, which, may have been the starting point of Trailōkyavarman's attack on Kālāñjar, then under a Muslim governor.⁴ That this ruler particularly strengthened this fort, as we shall see below, lends colour to the view of his shifting the capital to that place.

From the discussion given above, we gather that Trailōkyavarman succeeded in recovering the whole of his ancestral dominion, along with the fort of Kālāñjar, and thus we do not find any cogency in the statement of V.A. Smith who observed that "the history of the Chandēlla dynasty, as one of the powers of Northern India, ends in 1203 A.D., and that Trailōkyavarman succeeded his father as a mere local chieftain, holding the eastern part of the ancestral kingdom of Jējakabhukti".⁵ We know that the Garhā grants were made by him from his encampment at Vaḍavād, which has been identified with a place in the Lalitpur sub-division of the Jhānsi District on the west of his kingdom, and both the places mentioned in them were scattered all over the eastern part of his kingdom.

1 Nos. 142 and 143, respectively.

2 No. 145, v. 7.

3 T.N., Vol. I, pp. 732 f.

4 Elliot, Vol. II, p. 232.

5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVII, p. 146. Also see C.H.I., Vol. III, p. 514, where it is said that "after the death of Paramardin, the Chandēlla as an important dynasty, disappeared and the tribes also disappeared..."

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Subsequent to his recovery of the entire ancestral dominion, this brave and aspiring leader carried his arms eastward and waged a successful war in the region around Rēwā in Baghelkhand. The territory then formed a part of the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Tripuri whose power was on its wane at this time. Verse six of the Mahōbā inscription, dated V.S. 1240 or 1184¹ A.C., probably shows that the Kalachuri ruler Jayasimha (1163-1188 A.C.) submitted to Paramardin. Jayasimha's son and successor was Vijayasimha (1188-1210 A.C.), whose reign, besides this decline, was also marked by disturbances in the eastern part of his kingdom. As we know from the Rēwā stone inscription, dated K. Year 944 = 1193 A.C., his vassal, Salakshana, the ruler of Kakrēḍi, near Rēwā, revolted against him and was subdued by another of his feudatories, Malayasimha.² Taking advantage of the situation, Trailōkyavarman invaded this part of the country, and as we are informed by the Dhurēṭi plates, dated K. Year 963 = 1212 A.C., he succeeded in wresting this portion of the Kalachuri kingdom. The contemporary Kakrēḍi ruler, who owed his allegiance to the Kalachuris before this event, was of course obliged to acknowledge his supremacy.³

Alaurā, the village which was mortgaged by the Śaiva ascetic Śāntasiva in favour of the Rāṇaka Dharēka, as we are informed by the Dhurēṭi plates just referred to, appears to be the same as Laur, which is about 48 kms. north by east of Rēwā; and this record also mentions that it was then included in the kingdom of Trailōkyamalla, who has been identified with the Chandēlla Trailōkyavarman.⁴

The exact date when Trailōkyavarman acquired this territory is not mentioned anywhere, but it can be inferred. Vijayasimha's latest known record is the Rēwā stone inscription dated K. Year 96x, the reading of the first two digits of which is probable and the third, which is altogether effaced, has been conjectured to have been 0, 1, or 2; its corresponding English date thus ranges between 1208-9 and 1210-11 A.C. The earliest next date which mentions Trailōkyamalla, identified with the Chandēlla Trailōkyavarman, is supplied by the Dhurēṭi plates as equivalent to 1212 A.C. Thus the region around Kakrēḍi appears to have been stripped out of Vijayasimha's control sometime between these two dates.⁵

It is significant to note here that with the appropriation of this region by Trailōkyavarman, not only the Kakrēḍi chiefs who were the erstwhile feudatories of the Kalachuri house, but also Malayasimha, mentioned in the Dhurēṭi plates as a *Mahāmahattama Māṇḍalika* and a minister, had to transfer his allegiance, as we know from the Kalachuri records of the K. Years 944 and 96x.⁶

It is not known when Trailōkyavarman's reign came to an end. The latest certain date for him is supplied by the Rēwā copper-plate grant of the *Mahārāṇaka* Kumārapāladēva of Kakrēḍi, who acknowledged his sovereignty in V.S. 1297 or 1240 A.C.⁷ Cunningham,

1 No. 136.

2 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 67, l. 12.

3 No. 143. From the discovery of two lithic records of the Kalachuri king Narasimha (1153-1163 A.C.) - one at Lāl Pahād near Barhut and the other near the foot of Alhā-Ghāt near Rēwā (*C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 61-62) - some scholars are inclined to hold that this ruler succeeded in recovering from the Chandēllas a portion of his ancestral dominion which had been lost by his father, Gayākarna. See *ibid.* pp. cv-cvi, and *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 794. But we have no evidence to show that this territory was really lost by Gayākarna. We have already seen that the Teonthar hoard, which contains Madanavarman's coins, is not an indisputable evidence in this respect.

4 For details, see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 61-2. The expressions *Vāmadēva-pādāmudhyāta*, etc., which occur in this record are due to the ignorance of its drafter, who copied it from some Kalachuri grant.

5 For the details of the date of the Rēwā stone inscription etc. see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 1; *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. cvii and 366.

6 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 67, l. 8; and No. 70, l. 10, respectively.

7 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 231, ll. 6-7 of the text.

however, refers to a passage in the *Tabqāt-i-Nasiri*, according to which, a *Rājā* named *Dalaki wa Malaki* was ruling in a mountainous tract not far from Kara (Allāhabād Dist.), which was raided by Ulugh Khān in the reign of Sultān Nāsiruddin, in 645 A.H. (1247 A.C.¹). According to Firishta, *Dalaki Wa Malaki* (and not two *Rājās*, Dulky and Mulky, as translated by Briggs) resided at Kālāñjar.² Combining these evidences, Cunningham held that the real name is Trailōkyavarmanmadēva (Tilaki wama Deo), and its corruption into *Dalaki wa Malaki* is due to Persian calligraphists.³ If Cunningham's contention is accepted, it shows that Trailōkyavarman lived at least up to 1247 A.C., retaining his hold on the fort of Kālāñjar; and in view of this, it may also be held that Tāishi's attack on it in 1233 A.C., as stated above, resulted only in plundering it.

The next certain date for a member of the Chandēlla royal house, as we shall presently see, is V.S. 1311 or 1254 A.C.

Trailōkyavarman's interest in making proper arrangements for guarding forts in his kingdom has already been referred to above; and that may now be supplemented by some remarks. From the Ajaygaḍh inscription of the time of Bhōjavarman we know that he appointed Vāsē, a son of the Chief Minister Vidana, to the high office of guarding the principal street of the fort at that place, and also that the younger brother of this officer was appointed to be in charge of the fort itself.⁴ Vāsē, or Vāsēka as he was also called, made Trailōkyavarman's kingdom firm by killing in battle the irresistible Bhōjuka, who, seized with the frenzy of war, was then distorting the kingdom, as we learn from verse 9 of the same inscription. The identity of this enemy is not certain, though Kielhorn suggested that he may have been the same person as the father of Abhayadēva of the Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of the time of Viravarman.⁵ Nothing more in this respect is so far known, though this enemy appears to have been an internal one.

Vāsē's younger brother was Ānand, who is said to have been a great warrior who was skilled in the use of weapons and who brought under control the aboriginal tribes of the *bhillas*, *śabaras* and *pulindas* residing in the fort.⁶

Another officer under Trailōkyavarman was Mādhava, who is said "to have gratified the king".⁷ The verse describing this officer is fragmentary and the portion showing his precise duty is lost.

In course of making all these appointments, as we have often seen, Trailōkyavarman is found to have observed the family tradition of bearing in mind not only the heredity of the officials but also testing their ability in a proper way.

VĪRAVARMAN

c. 1250 to c. 1286 A.C.

Trailōkyavarman was succeeded by his son, Viravarman, whose known dates range between V.S. 1311 (1254 A.C.) and V.S. 1342 (1286 A.C.), from the records mentioned below. Two copper-plates and seven stone inscriptions of the time of this ruler have been so far known. The copper-plate records are both royal charters issued by the king and

1 *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. I, p. 457, *T.N.*, Vol. I, pp. 680 ff.; *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 348.

2 *T.F.*, Vol. I, p. 237.

3 *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 457 and *n.*

4 No. 150, vv. 17 and 21-22, respectively. The distinction between the duties of both the brothers is made here in view of the expressions used, viz., *durgē vīśīkhādhikāre* and *durgādhikāre*, respectively, to describe them.

5 No. 146, ll. 1-2. For Kielhorn's remarks, see *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 332.

6 No. 150, v. 22.

7 No. 147, v. 8.

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one of them was found with the *Darbār* of Charkhāri (now in the Hamirpur District) and the other at Dāhā in the Chhatarpur District. The definite find-spot of the first of these charters, which supplies the earliest known date for the king, as referred to above, is not known; and the second, which was found by Colonel Ellis and is dated V.S. 1337 (1280 A.C.), is now lost.¹ Of the stone inscriptions, only four are included here. Three of them were discovered at Ajaygaḍh and one at Kālāñjar. Those from the first of these places are dated respectively V.S. 1317 (1261 A.C.), 1325 (1264 A.C.), and 1337 (1281 A.C.), and the date of the one found at Kālāñjar is lost as the record is fragmentary.² Some other inscriptions of the time of this king, which are known only from Kielhorn's List or from Cunningham's writing,³ are either lost or, at least, no information as to their whereabouts is now forthcoming.

Still another stone inscription mentioning the name of Viravarman and dated V.S. 1372 (1315 A.C.) was found by Cunningham at the fort of Ajaygaḍh.⁴ But as we have another inscription from that place and mentioning the year V.S. 1345 = 1288 A.C., and Bhōjavarman as the reigning king, H.C. Ray doubted the reading of the date by Cunningham;⁵ and if the reading is to be taken correct, we have to assume the existence of a second Viravarman succeeding Bhōjavarman.

The earliest known year of Viravarman is 1254 A.C. when he issued the Charkhāri grant, and the latest known date of his predecessor Trailōkyavarman is 1233 A.C. when Malik Nāsiruddin Tāishi invaded the fort of Kālāñjar, as we have seen above. Thus he may be taken to have ascended the throne between these two dates. The upper limit of his reign, may however be taken to have been subsequent to 1247 A.C., if we accept Cunningham's identification of *Dalaki Wa Malaki* with Trailōkyavarman, as we too have noticed above. The reign of this king must have terminated between 1285 and 1288-89 A.C., the first of which is his latest known year and the second is the earliest known year of his successor Bhōjavarman.⁶

Viravarman was a brave and ambitious prince. The Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of V.S. 1317 describes this victorious ruler as "of spotless bravery who has delighted the damsels of heaven by sending them, as lovers, the hostile heroes whom he cut down on the field of battle." It further states that "he is worshipped by all men" and "when he strikes down the wicked (and) disperses crowds of opponents, people gaze at-wondering whether he is Vishnu riding on Garuda, or Śiva roaming about on his bull."⁷ The description is no doubt poetic, but it appears to contain a kernel of truth in it, though not mentioning anything specifically.

1 The first of these records is our No. 144; and for the second, see *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 74-75. It is not included here, as the plate is lost and no impression is now available. The record was noticed in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 241, and commented on in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 404f.

2 Nos. 145 to 148, respectively. Vol. XXI.

3 Kielhorn's List in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Nos. 560, 604, 608; and one in Cunningham's *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 82, No. 53. In *A.R.*, A.S.I., 1935-36, p. 92, N.P. Chakravarti mentions another inscription found by him at Ajaygaḍh, on the pedestal of a colossal image of Śāntinātha and dated (V.) S. 1335, Chaitra *su* 13 *Somē* corresponding to 26th March, 1279 A.C., in the reign of Viravarman. The epigraph records the installation of an image by the *sādhu* Sōdhala, the son of the *sādhu* Sīdhala and Dēvaki, residing at the Jayapura-durga. The contents of this record, as given by Chakravarti, are for the preliminary portion the same as of No. 112, above, which is undated; and from its contents it also appears to be an exact copy of it. We are further informed by Chakravarti that this record "ends abruptly". It is however, somewhat curious that an inscription recording the installation of a Jaina image should begin with paying obeisance to Chāṇḍikā, as the same scholar also informs us. For Viravarman's latest known date, V.S. 1342, see Kielhorn's list in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V (*appx.*), p. 35, No. 242.

4 *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 54.

5 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 732, n. 4.

6 No. 149.

7 No. 145, vv. 8-9.

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The Charkhāri plate records the gift of a village in the Dāhi *vishaya* in favour of the Rāuta Abhi who was the son of Rāuta Haripāla and who performed a deed of valour by vanquishing one Dabhyuḥaḍavarman.¹ The identity of this adversary cannot be established for want of details, but as the name ends in *varman*, he may have been a member of the Chandēlla dynasty and may also have been a usurper, or a rebel, as suggested by Hiralal. This suggestion, however, is not accepted by other scholars.² The battle in which this adversary is said to have been defeated by Abhi was fought at Sōndhi, which has been identified with Seondhā in the Datia District of Madhya Pradesh. It is thus evident that Viravarman, who had inherited the entire ancestral dominion, as indicated by his title *Kālāñjarādhipati* in the inscriptions, succeeded in extending it in its north west where this place is situated.

The occupation of the fort of Seondhā appears to have emboldened Viravarman to push his conquest further in the north west, where lay the territory of the Yajvapālas of Narwar. His contemporary on the Yajvapāla throne was Gōpāla. The details of the struggle that Viravarman had against Gōpāla, have been given by us in the history of the Yajvapāla dynasty. We have shown that the forces of the Chandēlla king took the offensive by launching an attack on the Yajvapāla kingdom, and in their march they penetrated up to the village of Baṅglā on the river known as Baluvā or Baruvā, flowing not far from the Yajvapāla capital, but they were ultimately repulsed. That the battle took place at this village is indicated by some memorial pillars discovered there; they bear inscriptions recording the names of warriors who were killed in it,³ and the date of the struggle has been calculated to be 28th March, 1281 A.C. Here we have also to take into account another evidence. The Dāhi copper-plate bears the date V.S. 1337, Vaiśākha *śudi*, 15, Sunday, and it records the gift of Viravarman in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Balabhadra Mallaya of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who is said to have distinguished himself by conquering the lord of Narwar (*samara-yuga-parājita-Nalapura-pati*), the ruler of Mathurā (*Madhuvanak-ādhipa*) and Harirāja of Gwālior (Gōpādri).⁴

D.R. Bhandarkar suggested long ago that one of the adversaries of the Chandēlla king Viravarman mentioned in the Dāhi grant was the Yajvapāla king Gōpāla of Nalapura (Narwar).⁵ Kielhorn equated the date of this grant with 4th May, 1281 A.C.;⁶ and this date, as rightly observed by D.C. Sircar, is a little over one month later than the date of the Baṅglā inscriptions, which corresponds with 28th March, 1281 A.C.⁷ From the combined testimony of both these records we know that they mention the same event and also that both the parties lost some warriors in the battle. But the fact that Viravarman had ultimately to lose the battle is supported by the observation that there is no reference to this event in any of the subsequent Chandēlla records.

From the Muslim accounts we learn that the Delhi Sulan Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd (1246-66 A.C.) subjugated Bundelkhand and appointed his governor there in 1251 A.C. Almost about this time he is also known to have subdued the regions of Gwālior, Chandēri and Mālwa.⁸ But in spite of it, the fact that the Hindu dynasties not only maintained their existence but also carried on warfare among themselves subsequent to this date, clearly indicates that the Muslims did not still succeed in completely eliminating indigenous powers in these principalities.⁹

1 No. 144, ll. 13-14.

2 See *E.R.K.*, p. 135.

3 Nos. 162-174.

4 Noticed by Cunningham in *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 74 ff. For the other references, see *n.* above.

5 See his *List of Inscriptions*, No. 600.

6 His *Northern Ind. Inscr. List*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 34 f., No. 240.

7 *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXII (1936), p. 399.

8 *C.H.I.* Vol. III, p. 68; *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 351; *T.F.*, Vol. I, p. 239.

9 See *E.R.K.*, p. 137.

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From the Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of V.S. 1317 we learn that Viravarman's Chief queen was Kalyāṇadēvi, who was the daughter of Mahēśvara of the Dadhichi family, from his wife Vēśaladēvi, who was the daughter of king Gōvindarāja. Kalyāṇadēvi built a well with "never-failing water course", a hall for the supply of water and also donated a pot for its supply. She also built a tank at Nandipura, which has been tentatively identified by Kielhorn with Ajaygaḍh itself.¹

Another inscription from the same place and dated V.S. 1337 mentions an officer of the name of Jagadvira under this king.² But the verse describing him is fragmentary and the details are lost. From an inscription at Kālāñjar, which too is fragmentary and supplies no date, we know that Viravarman (?) constructed temples, planted gardens and excavated tanks and wells.³

BHŌJAVARMAN

c. 1286 to 1289 A.C.

This ruler is known from five stone inscriptions, all discovered at Ajaygaḍh. The earliest of them, which is dated V.S. 1344, mentions the consecration of some Śaiva images; and the second, which is dated V.S. 1345 = 1288-89 A.C., records the installation of an image of Viṣṇu in a temple at that place by his minister Nāna, and another, which appears to have lost its date, also mentions the construction of a temple by an officer.⁴ The fourth is a *śatī* stone showing the date V.S. 1346 = 1289 A.C.; and the unit figure of the date of the last one is lost.⁵

Bhōjavarman's relationship with his predecessor, Viravarman, is not disclosed by any of these records. He may have been his son or his younger brother. Nor do we know any political event of his reign. He was on the throne for a very short period and was succeeded by Hamiravarman in V.S. 1346, the details of the date being equivalent to 11th September, 1289 A.C.⁶

As all his inscriptions noted above were found at the same place Ajaygaḍh, it is evident that this fort was then in the possession of Bhōjavarman. But we have no evidence to show whether he retained his hold over Kālāñjar and some other strongholds in the neighbourhood, under the growing influence of the Mohammedan rulers in North India. It has been urged that his successor, Hammiravarman, actually held the fort of Kālāñjar under him, as indicated by a *śatī* stone inscription which was found in the territory held by a feudatory prince, *Mahārājaputra* Vāghadēva, who uses the title *Kālāñjarādhipati*, for Hammiravarman in 1365 A.C.; and that the fort, along with its surrounding territory, did not cease to be held by the Chandēllas in the intervening period is clear from the Charkhāri grant of this ruler.⁷ But under the growing influence of the Muslim ruler in North India it appears less possible that during the reign of Bhōjavarman and his successor Hammiravarman, the Chandēllas continued to hold Kālāñjar. As we have shown above, Sultan Nāsir-ud-dīn had by this time subjugated Bundelkhand and he was also appointed

1 No. 145, vv. 18-20.

2 No. 147, v. 10.

3 No. 148, l. 22. The record is fragmentary and hence it cannot be definitely known whether these pious deeds were the works of Viravarman himself or of any other person during his reign.

4 Respectively, Nos. 149 and 150.

5 See respectively Nos. 193, 149, 150 and 195 (for the one mentioned last); for the fourth one, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 134, n.2.

6 N.P. Chakravarti is perhaps right in assuming that Bhōjavarman was a younger brother of Viravarman, and reigned only during the minority of Hammiravarman. See *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 92.

7 *E.R.K.*, p. 139.

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governor by the royal authority in about 1251 A.C.¹ He is also known to have led expeditions in the neighbouring regions; and in view of the whole disturbance, it is not possible that he may have spared this fort, one of the most important strongholds in the entire region of Bundelkhand, which he may have made a base for his inroads. If this view is accepted, the title of *Kālāñjarādhipati* attached to the name of Hammiravarman in the inscriptions appears to have been only conventional, and fails to indicate his actual possession of it. The view expressed here is, however, tentative and it is difficult to pronounce a final judgement on the point until further evidence is available. It is, however, no doubt certain that the Chandēlla kingdom may have been circumscribed in Bhōjavarman's time.

From the first two of the Ajaygaḍh inscriptions mentioned above, we have some glimpses of the administrative organisation of the kingdom under this ruler. His minister was Nāna, born in the Vāstavya Kāyastha family, which served the Chandēlla kings for some generations. Nāna is stated to have been learned (*vijñāna-nidhi*) and was an efficient statesman.² The officer in charge of the fort at Ajaygaḍh, along with the great highway leading to it, was *Thakkura* Ayau.³ And lastly, Subhata whose ancestors too had served the Chandēlla kings for some generations and who is said to have been the leader of the eloquent, was the Chief Superintendent of the king's treasury. He was also the Counsellor of the king and the officer in charge of the storehouse.⁴

HAMMIRAVARMAN

1289 to 1309 (or 1311?) A.C.

Bhōjavarman was succeeded by Hammiravarman some time in 1289 A.C., which is the latest known year of the former and also the first known year of the latter ruler. He is known from one copper-plate record and two *śati* stone inscriptions.⁵ The copper-plate was found with the *Durbar* of Charkhāri near Mahōbā in Uttar Pradesh. Its original find-spot is not known. It records the donation of the village Kōkaḍa (or Kikāḍa?) in favour of two Brāhmaṇas named Śrīdhara and Ābhē, who seem to have been brothers, by Hammiravarman, who is styled in it as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Rājavalitrayōpēta*, *Kālāñjarādhipati* and *Mahārāja*. This ruler is also mentioned in it as the successor of P.M.P. Viravarman, and the latter as the successor of P.M.P. Trailōkyavarman.⁶

Hiralal, who edited this charter in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 125 ff., observed that in his own case Hammiravarman "has left out the grandiloquent title of the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, which he duly attached to his elders." From this omission it is inferred by the same scholar that this ruler "was fully conscious of his reduced position" and therefore he was content with the humbler title of *Mahārāja*. But here it may be pointed out that when the title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* has also been attached to his name in the record and when the other two of the whole group are already signified by the expression *rājavalitrayōpēta*, which also appears with his name in it, the question of the omission of the 'grandiloquent title' does not at all arise. The subordinate title of *Mahārāja* attached to his name with the imperial titles does not lead us to any conclusion, since we find both these titles used also by some other rulers in their records.⁷

1 *C.H.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 67-68.

2 No. 149, v. 25.

3 *Ibid.*, 1. 20.

4 No. 150, vv. 28-29.

5 The first two of these are our Nos. 151 and 152, respectively; and the third one is noticed in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 134, n. 2.

6 No. 151, ll. 5-7.

7 For example, in the case of the Paramāra Siyaka II and Dhāravarsha, each one of whom bore the Imperial and the subordinate titles in the same record. See Nos. 1-2, and 67, respectively.

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Here we have also to bear in mind what Hiralal himself has observed, viz., that the composer or the writer of the record was "no Sanskritist, as he has committed many spelling as well as grammatical mistakes".¹ And in view of this observation, the expression used with the name of Hammiravarman in this record need not be taken very seriously.

Hammiravarman's relationship in the house is not definitely known. He may have been a younger brother of Bhōjavarman. That he may have been a son of Viravarman may perhaps be inferred from the expression *tat-pādānuudyāta* attached to his name just after the mention of Viravarman, which, of course in most of the instances though not in all cases, signifies the relationship of father and son. The omission of the name of Bhōjavarman in the Charkhāri plate probably leads us to the same conclusion, presuming him to have been a collateral. Thus there was no war of succession, as also has been suggested by Hiralal.

No historical event of the reign of Hammiravarman has so far been known. But from the Bāmhni *śaī* stone inscription, dated V.S. 1365 or 1308-09 A.C.,² we know that a *Mahārājaputra* Vāghadēva was his feudatory, holding his sway in a part of the Damoh District, as we have also seen above.

During this time, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri were invading the Kalachuri territories and from there also encroaching upon the southern borders of the Chandēlla kingdom. The Purushōttamapuri plates of the reign of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, dated Śaka 1232 (1310 A.C.) claim for him a victory over the king of the Dāhala country, who was presumed to have been Hammiravarman.³ As we have already seen above, the Paramāras too had then penetrated up to the Sāgar District. Thus during the reign of this king the Chandēlla kingdom appears to have been circumscribed, facilitating attacks of enemies from all sides.

The latest known year of Hammiravarman supplied by the Ajaygaḍh *śaī* stone inscription is V.S. 1368 or 1311 A.C.⁴ By this time he has been on the throne for about twenty years. It is not recorded when he ceased to rule; nor have we any definite evidence about his successor. On the other hand, from a village of the name of Salaiyā, about 5 kms. from Bāmhni, we have another *śaī* stone inscription dated V.S. 1366 (1309 A.C.), mentioning Sultān Alā-ud-din as the reigning king.⁵ It would thus appear that the career of the house came to an end and the kingdom of the Chandēllas finally passed into the hands of the Muslims in about 1309 A.C.⁶ It is possible that some of the members belonging to this house may have continued to wield their sway in some remote corners of the state, for example, Viravaman II, who is known to us from an inscription of 1315 A.C., as already seen above, of course presuming that Cunningham's reading of its date is correct.⁷ It would, however, appear that Hammiravarman himself, or his successor, was subjugated by Alā-ud-din and his kingdom was annexed.

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 134. The engraving of the record is also equally careless, and what Hiralal read *Sāhi* and explained it as due to the Muslim influence then prevailing in the surrounding region, appears to us as *-tyādi* from the impression.

2 No. 152.

3 *C.I.I.* Vol. IX, p. cviii.

4 No. 153.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI (M), p. 11, n. 2.

6 From the dates of the *śaī* stones at Bāmhni and Salaiyā, it seems reasonable to hold that Alā-ud-din's armies, which were at that time marching to the Deccan, may have captured the region around Damoh in 1309 A.C., but Ajaygaḍh continued to remain in the possession of the Chandēllas for about two or some more years and at least till 1311 A.C., which is the date supplied by the *śaī*-stone inscription found at that place. We have no decisive evidence to show that the Chandēllas were permanently driven out of Kālāñjar. Also see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 735, which says the same.

7 See *supra*, p. Here we may add the name of another Paramardin known from an inscription of V.S. 1466 (1409 A.C.) and who, if belonging to the Chandēlla family, should be taken as the second ruler of the name. See below, No. 196.

THE KACHCHHAPAGHĀTAS

The royal house of the Kachchhapaghātas, or Kachchhapāghātas, of which three distinct families have so far been known, arose out of the ruins of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty after its decline in the middle of the tenth century A.C. These families held sway over regions around Gwālior, Dubkuṇḍ and Narwar, respectively.

The origin of these houses is shrouded in mystery. They are generally taken to be the predecessors of the Rājput clan known as Kachhavāhā or Kuśavāhā,¹ and though the words are philologically connected, we have no epigraphical evidence in support of this view.

I GWĀLIOR HOUSE

Our main source of material for reconstructing the history of this house consists of an inscription set up in the temple, popularly known by the name of *Sās-bahū*, in the fort of Gwālior. Another inscription, which is fragmentary and which was found at the same place, is now exhibited in the State Museum at Lucknow.²

The first historical person mentioned in the *Sās-bahū* inscription was Lakshmaṇa, who is described in it as "an ornament of the Kachchhapaghāta race, who had, by force, extirpated mighty princes".³ This conventional praise may probably be taken to show that this ruler sided with those who caused the downfall of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty, though we have nothing to corroborate this suggestion. From his description in the inscription as a king (*kshōṇi-pati*) he appears to have carved out a principality for himself, nothing about which is so far known as stated above. That his capital was not at least at Gwālior, the credit of capturing which from the enemies is given to his son Vajradāman and not to himself, as we shall presently see. Or, even though the royal epithet of a king applied to him shows that he may have enjoyed some regal power, it is possible to hold that he may have been referred to merely as an ancestor and was called a king by courtesy.

VAJRADĀMAN

c. 950 to c. 980 A.C.

The *Sās-bahū* temple inscription informs us that "Vajradāman, son of Lakshmaṇa, by his irresistible strong arms captured the fort of Gwālior from the ruler of Gādhinagara", which is generally identified with Kanauj.⁴ He has been identified with the homonymous Kachchhapaghāta ruler who was living in V.S. 1034 = 977 A.C., as we know from an inscription at Suhāniyā (Mōrēnā District).⁵ From the Rākhetra stone inscription of

1 For the bardic tradition, Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. I, pp. 56, 106-07 and 161-62, *ASIR*, Vol. II, pp. 370 ff.

2 Our Nos. 155 and 156, respectively. The Lucknow Museum contains another fragmentary stone inscription, for which, see p. 126, n. 1 below.

3 No. 155, v. 5.

4 *Ibid.*, v. 6. For this name of Kanauj, see *H.K.*, p. 4.

5 *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXXI (1862), p. 411. It mentions Vajradāman as *Mahārājādhirāja*, but we have often seen above that this imperial title was not inconsistent with the feudatory rank in that period. See the Rājor stone inscription of Mathanadēva of V.S. 1016 or 960 A.C. in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 263 ff. Also cf. No. 154, 1. 58, mentioning Vikramasimha of the Dubkuṇḍ branch as *Mahārājādhirāja*, and No. 157 in which all the three kings belonging to the Narwar branch are given this title. It is, however, possible that in the days of the weakness of their overlords, the Chandēllas, these kings may have proclaimed independence, or at least feigned to do so.

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Vijayapāladēva, dated in V.S. 999-1000, we know it for certain that this fort was held by the Pratihāra ruler¹ till at least 942-43 A.C.; and from this it is evident that the Pratihāras must have lost it some time between that year and 977 A.C., which is the year of Vajradāman's inscription. We have seen above in the account of the Chandēllas that the fort of Gwālior was held by Dhanga as early as in V.S. 1011 or 953-54 A.C., and when Vajradāman is said to have captured it on or before 977 A.C., the possible conclusion is that the conquest of Gwālior by the Kachchhapaghātas and the Chandēllas refer to one and the same event when they sided with each other in defeating the Pratihāra ruler who has been identified with Vijayapāla.²

Vajradāman was a liberal ruler. He often distributed quite pure gold after weighing himself against it.³

MAṄGALARĀJA

c. 980 to c. 1005 A.C.⁴

Vajradāman appears to have closed his reign in c. 1000 A.C., when he was succeeded by his son, Maṅgalarāja, who is conventionally described as scattering his enemies as the Sun does the darkness. He was devoted to Śiva, unlike some other members of the house who are known to have been Vaishnavites.⁵

KĪRTIRĀJA

c. 1005 to c. 1030 A.C.

Maṅgalarāja's successor was his son, Kirtirāja. His description in the inscription referred to above, that "in his march, the sheet of dust rising from the armies took away the colour of the Sun and at the same time that of his enemies" (v. 9) does not appear to have been a vain boast, for he is also said to have "repulsed the army of the Mālava king, whose countless host met with defeat and received such a terrible shock that the multitudes of spears fallen from their hands in every direction through fear were subsequently collected by the villagers (of course of Gwālior) and were used for surrounding their houses" (v. 10). The Mālava ruler may be identified with the Paramāra Bhōjadēva. We have seen above in the history of the Paramāras that this valorous feat appears to have been accomplished by Kirtirāja with the help of the Chandēlla Vidyādhara and also how Bhōja was afraid of him. But with all his valour he had to suffer from a blow outside. It was probably Kirtirāja or his father Maṅgalarāja who had ultimately to surrender to Mahmūd of Gazni, when the latter invaded Gwālior in 1021 A.C. in the course of his expedition against the Chandēlla Vidyādhara.⁶

1 *A.S.I.R.*, 1924-25, p. 168.

2 The Rājōr stone inscription of V.S. 1016, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 263 ff. In his *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 822 f H.C. Ray suggested that the Kachchhapaghātas were at first feudatories to the imperial Gūjrara Pratihāras and subsequent to their conquest of Gwālior they had soon to yield to the rising power of the Chandēllas. But this view is not acceptable to S.K. Mitra, for which see *E.R.K.*, pp. 58 f.

3 No. 155, v. 6. The plural in *purushaiḥ* shows frequency.

4 The period of the reign of each of these princes is conjectural, calculated by assigning the usual average, as in such cases, of 25 years to each reign and giving only 10 years to Padmapāla who is stated to have died young.

5 He is probably to be identified with his namesake mentioned in the 'Ukhā Mandar' stone inscription at Bayāna (Bharatpur Dist.), Rājasthān. See *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. VI, pp. 50 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 9-10.

6 *T.A.*, p. 14; *S.E.*, p. 18. The ruler of Gwālior is styled *hākīm*, *sālār* or *rājā*, respectively, by Nizāmud-Dīn Gardizi and Firishṭa, showing that he (Maṅgalarāja) was not an independent ruler but only a feudatory, of course, under the Chandēlla Vidyādhara.

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Kirtirāja was devoted to Śiva. He built a temple in honour of the deity at Śimhapāniya, modern Suhāniyā in the Mōrēnā District.

MŪLADĒVA

c. 1030 to c. 1055 A.C.

Kirtirāja was succeeded by his son Mūladēva, who was known also as Bhuvanapāla and Trailōkyamalla. Nothing about this ruler is so far known except that his queen was Dēvavratā, from whom was born a son named Dēvapāla, who succeeded him. His Secretary was Manōratha, a Kāyastha of Mathurā.

DĒVAPĀLA

c. 1055 to c. 1080 A.C.

The *Sās-bahū* temple inscription describes this ruler only figuratively, stating that he surpassed Karna by his generosity, the son of Prithu (Arjuna) by his skill in using the bow, and Dharmarāja (Yudhishthira) by truthfulness (v.15). But as nothing specific about him is mentioned in it, he does not appear to have been an ambitious ruler. No political event of his reign is recorded.

PADMAPĀLA

c. 1080 to c. 1090 A.C.

This ruler was the son and successor of Dēvapāla. The *Sās-bahū* temple inscription devotes nine stanzas (vv. 16-24) to describe his heroism, valour, piety and some other personal qualities, but without mentioning any historical event of his reign. However, his description though vague and conventional, may tend to show that taking advantage of the weakness of his overlord, the contemporary Chandēlla king, he may have proclaimed independence, as can be known from the epithet *chakravarti-tilaka*, applied to him in verse 16 of the *Sās-bahū* temple inscription, which we have often referred to above. This imperial position appears to have been continued also by his brother and successor, Mahipāla who is described as *bhūpati-chakravarti* in verse 72 of the same record.

This ruler began to construct a temple of Hari; and we are further told that before the shrine was completed, he died and was succeeded by Mahipāla, son of Śūrapāla, or Sūryapāla.

MAHIPĀLA

c. 1090 to c. 1115 A.C.

Mahipāla was probably the cousin of Padmapāla, who had no son. The inscription devotes as many as thirty-eight verses to describe his personal qualities and coronation (vv. 30-68), but they are all historically worthless. This ruler completed the temple, the construction of which had been begun by Padmapāla.¹ He also attached a *Brahmapurī* to it, established a charitable hall where food and drink were distributed, and made suitable arrangement for the maintenance of all these establishments.

The known dates of this ruler are 1092 A.C. when the *Sās-bahū* inscription was engraved and 1104 A.C., when another inscription was set up.²

1 This name appears to have been chosen to honour the memory of his brother Padmapāla who had begun to erect the shrine.

2 Nos. 155 and 156.

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RATNAPĀLA

c. 1115 to (?)

Mahipāla's son, born of Rannadēvi, was Ratnapāla, who succeeded him some time before V.S. 1165 = 1108 A.C., which is his only known date. Nothing about him is known, though this appears to have added a new name in the Kachchhapaghāta genealogy.¹ Nor do we know any name of any of his successors. This region, as is well known, was conquered by the Muslims in 1196 A.C., after a short reign of the Pratihāra family there.

II. DUBKUṆḌ HOUSE

The material for reconstructing the history of the Kachchhapaghāta family, which established itself at Dubkuṇḍ in the Shivpurī District of Madhya Pradesh, is restricted to a solitary stone inscription found at that place.² The record gives the genealogy of this dynasty for four generations. The last prince mentioned in it is Vikramasimha, who was on the throne in V.S. 1145 or 1088 A.C. The capital of this house was Dubkuṇḍ itself,³ after which it has been called here. It is situated on the top of a tableland on the left bank of Kunu, a tributary of the Chambal.

The first prince of the family was Arjuna, a son of Yuvarāja. He was an expert bowman, skilled in archery. He became renowned by slaying Rājyapāla in a great battle fought by him as an ally or feudatory of (the Chandēlla) Vidyādhara. In our account of the Chandēllas we have seen how the Chandēlla Vidyādhara entered into hostility with Rājyapāla, the last Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj, who resorted to flight and surrendered his territory to Mahmūd Gaznavī in the latter's invasion of the Pratihāra dominions; and Arjuna appears to have acted bravely in the struggle in which Rājyapāla was killed. This event took place in 1019 A.C.

Counting back from the date of the inscription and assigning the usual average of twenty years to each of the four rulers belonging to this branch with some latitude, of course, Arjuna's rule may be placed in the early years of the eleventh century. We may provisionally take his period from *circa* 1010 to *circa* 1030 A.C.

ABHIMANYU

c. 1030 to c. 1050 A.C.

Arjuna was succeeded by his son, Abhimanyu, who, in verse 10 of the inscription, is conventionally praised as possessing unblemished qualities and also as vanquishing his enemies in battles. "The skill that he showed in the marvellous management of horses and chariots and in the use of powerful weapons was highly eulogised by the intelligent Bhōja." This statement probably goes to show that Abhimanyu was an ally of the Paramāra Bhōjadēva in the latter's expedition in the north against the Kachchhapaghāta ruler of Gwālior, as already seen above.

This ruler was succeeded by his son Vijayapāla.

1 *A.S.I.R.*, 1936-37, pp. 93 f., noticing an inscription in the Lucknow Museum, which is said to have been "badly damaged" in that year but now completely obliterated, showing only a few *akṣharas* in the top corner on the right side. Lucknow Museum *Catalogue*, No. E-19. The record mentions the names of Sūtryapāla and Mahipāla and states that it was composed at the request of Ratnapāla.

2 No. 154.

3 The place is mentioned in the inscription (v. 19) as *Dabhā*, which can easily be connected with Dubkuṇḍ, and not *Chadōbha* as read by the editor, for which see my note in the relevant stanza of the text.

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VIJAYAPĀLA

c. 1050 to c. 1070 A.C.

This ruler too has the conventional praise of being brave and glorious. No political event of his reign is so far known. However, his description in verse 15 of the Dubkund inscription that "in battles he terrified all his enemies one after another", does not appear to be a vain boast. The *Ukha Mandar* inscription at Bayānā (Bharatpur Dist. Rājasthān) shows that the region around its findspot was in the possession of the Gwālior branch of this house, in the reign of Maṅgalarāja¹ and another inscription from the same place and dated V.S. 1100 (1043 A.C.) mentions *Adhirāja* Vijaya, who has been identified by Kielhorn with our Vijayapāladēva.² If Kielhorn's identification is accepted, as H.C. Ray has pointed out,³ it may be held that the Dubkund branch conquered the Bayānā region from the Gwālior branch some time before 1043 A.C.

VIKRAMASIMHA

c. 1070 to c. 1090 A.C.

This ruler was the son and successor of Vijayapāla. The inscription describes him as an ornament of the Kachchhapaghāta race, and from this description it seems almost certain that this family was connected with the ruling house of Gwālior. But we have no epigraphic evidence in support of this view. This king is called a *Mahārājādhirāja* in the inscription.

During the reign of Vijayapāla some Jaina traders built a temple at Dubkund, to which he made certain assignments and provisions for the purpose of worship and also for keeping it in good order.

III. NARWAR HOUSE

The existence of a third house of the Kachchhapaghātas which established itself at Narwar is revealed from the Narwar copper-plate, issued in V.S. Year 1177 or 1120 A.C.,⁴ by Vikramasimha, the successor of Śaradasimha (Śaratsimha), who, in his turn, was the successor of Gaganasimha. It is not known whether the second and the third of these rulers were, respectively, the sons of their predecessors.

No historical event of the reign of any of these rulers is known from the plate which endows each of them with the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. We have nothing but conventional praise even in the case of the donor Vikramasimha.

The family name appearing in the record is spelt as Kachchhapaghāta, which is more akin to the name Kachhavāha, than Kachchhaghāta, as spelt elsewhere.

Assigning the average reign of twenty-five years to each of these rulers, the house appears to have been founded in the beginning of the latter half of the eleventh century A.C. Nothing about its end is known, though it seems to have disappeared from history soon after the grant referred to above was issued.

Narwar is only about 90 kms. distant from Dubkund, which again is about 72 kms. south-southwest of Gwālior. Hence the three houses of the Kachchhapaghātas mentioned

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 9 f.

2 For the identification see *ibid.* pp. 8 ff.

3 *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 831 f.

4 No. 157.

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here appear to be mutually related to one another, but no evidence in this respect has so far been noticed.

THE DYNASTY OF VIJAYAPĀLA

The history of this dynasty has been reconstructed from two stone inscriptions. One of them was originally set up in a temple at Inṅanapadra, modern Inṅnōḍā, also spelt as Inṅnōḍā, Inṅnōḍ or Rīṅnōḍ, a village now included in the Ratlām District of Madhya Pradesh;¹ and the other was found at Thākardā in the Dūṅgarpur District of Rājasthān.² The first of these records is now untraceable and the second has not been published as yet; and the stone on which it is inscribed is now not available for re-examination.

The first of these inscriptions, which registers a grant made by the *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vijayapālādēva, in the Vikrama year 1190 = 1132-33 A.C., gives the following genealogy of his house:

Prithvipāla
|
His successor, Tihunapāla
|
His successor, Vijayapāla

To Prithvipāla, whose name figures at the head of the genealogical list, is also given the epithet of *Bhartṛipaṭṭa*. The names of all these kings appear also in the Thākardā inscription, in the same order, only with the difference that in it the second name appears in its Sanskritised form as Tribhuvanapāla. Besides this, the Thākardā inscription carries the genealogy two generations further and names Śūrapāla and the *Mahākumāra* Anayapāla, respectively, as the son and grandson of Vijayapāla. According to this inscription, the last mentioned person granted some land in favour of the temple of god Siddhēśvara, in V.S. 1212 or 1155 A.C.

Assigning the average of twenty years to each of these persons, we may presume that Prithvipāla, the earliest known member of the house, rose to power, approximately, in the last decade of the eleventh century A.C.

Different views have been propounded with respect to the name of the family of these rulers, which is not mentioned in either of these inscriptions. D.R. Bhandarkar identified Prithvipāla with Mahipāla of the Kachchhapaghāta house of Gwālior and called this house by that name.³ But except that the two names are synonymous, we have nothing to support this view. G.H. Ojha, on the other hand, held that these rulers were possibly the descendants of the Pratihāra family of Kanauj, which ruled in Central India and Rājasthān, after the end of the Pratihāra kingdom of Kanauj.⁴ This suggestion appears to be based on the fact that the names of some of the rulers of the Pratihāra family end in *pāla*, as given here. But in the absence of any corroboration, this view too is untenable. Besides, we may note here that the suffix *pāla* is found to end the names of the members of some other royal families also, for example, Vighrahapāla (Chāhamāna), Vijayapāla (Chandēlla), Gōpāla (Pāla) and Dēvapāla (Paramāra).

Thus, neither of the views mentioned above appears to be justified, and nothing on this point can be definitely said unless further material on the subject is available. It may however be suggested here that the title of *Bhartṛipaṭṭa* attached to the name

¹ No. 158.

² *A.R.R.M.*, 1915-16, p. 3.

³ In the *List of Inscriptions*, No. 229.

⁴ As n. 2, above.

of Prithvipāla in the inscriptions may have been adopted from the name of the Guhila ruler Bhartṛipatta II whose inscription dated V. 999 was found in Pratāpagadh (Rājasthān)¹ and about 45 kms. north west of Ringnōd (Madhya Pradesh) where the first of the records mentioned here was discovered. This view receives corroboration from the Virapurā copper-plate dated V.S. 1242 (1185 A.C.) mentioning *Mahārājādhirāja* Amṛitapāla, a son of *Mahārājādhirāja* Vijayapāla alias Bhartṛipatta, and thus a brother and successor of Śūrapāla, as a subordinate chief ruling at Vāgaḍa, under the suzerainty of the Chaulūkyā Bhima II. In the plate, Amṛitapāla is stated to have belonged to the Guhila family.²

A great uncertainty also prevails about the commencement of the political career of this house. D.C. Ganguly suggested that Vijayapāla, who appears to have been a local governor under the Paramāra Naravarman, declared independence in the days when the kingdom of Mālava was overpowered by the Chaulūkyā Siddharāja Jayasimha.³ In our account of the Paramāras of Mālwa we have seen that in the last days of Naravarman a great political disturbance was raging throughout the country, and in view of this, Ganguly's suggestion appears to be justified.

An inscription of Jayasimha Siddharāja, which was found at Talwādā in the Bānswādā District⁴ (Rājasthān), shows that this ruler, after he occupied Mālwa, marched further west, probably to humble the pride of the Paramāra kings of Vāgaḍa who were their kinsmen; and it is possible to hold that taking advantage of the situation, the contemporary Ignōdā ruler, presumably Vijayapāla himself, changed to the side of Jayasimha and also accompanied him in his invasion of the Vāgaḍa country. He probably advanced to the enemy's capital, Arthūṇā, which is about 120 kms. straight to the west of Ignōdā and about 50 kms. south-west of Talwādā, where Jayasimha's inscription referred to above has been found. Vijayapāla's successor, Śūrapāla may have extended his conquest in the north up to Thākardā, which is about 80 kms. straight north of Arthūṇā and where was found the aforesaid inscription of the *Mahākumāra* Anayapāla. This is only how the data known so far can be explained by connecting them together.

How this house ended its political career is also not definitely known. A conjecture, however, may be hazarded in this respect. Anayapāla, who issued the Thākardā grant in 1155 A.C., as an heir-apparent, may have, in the natural course, succeeded his father Śūrapāla, but was soon displaced by the Guhila Sāmantasimha, as we know from the latter's inscription found at Sōlaj and dated V.S. 1236 (1179 A.C.),⁵ in the Dūngarpur District and about 60 kms. south of Udaipur and about 20 kms. north west of Thākardā, the findspot of Anayasimha's inscription.

Above, we have referred to the Virapurā copper-plate, which states that *Mahārājādhirāja* Amṛitapāla was ruling in the Vāgaḍa country in V.S. 1242 = 1185 A.C. His kingdom may have been smaller in extent than before. It is, however, not known if he regained a part of his hereditary possessions and was ruling as a vassal of the Chaulūkyā king Bhima, who was then exercising supreme authority over Vāgaḍa, as we know from an inscription from Diwḍā, in the Dūngarpur District.⁶

THE YAJVAPĀLAS OF NARWAR

Very little is known of the history of the Yajvapālas of Narwar (ancient Nalapura)

1 Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 59; Ed. in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 187.

2 *A.R.R.M.*, 1929-30, pp. 2 f. If these rulers belonged to the Guhila clan, they were certainly different from that of Sāmantasimha.

3 *H.P.D.*, p. 165.

4 *A.R.R.M.*, 1914-15, p. 2. *I.N.I.*, No. 1521.

5 *Ibid.*, No. 392.

6 *Ibid.*, No. 435.

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who played an important role in the history of India in the latter half of the thirteenth century A.C. In his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, D.R. Bhandarkar enlisted only seven records of the reign of this house,¹ whereas as many as about two dozen of them are now known to exist, which are in some way or other helpful for reconstructing its history. They were all found at Narwar itself (Śhivpuri District) and in the surrounding region and are noticed in the *Annual Reports* of the Archaeological Department of the former Gwālior State. Some of them were edited in the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The seat of this house was at Nalapura, modern Narwar, a strong hill fort² in the Śhivpuri District of the State of Madhya Pradesh. It is situated on a steep hill in the Vindhyan range in the bend of the Sindh river, about eighty kms. south west of Gwālior, and, on account of its situation, was a place of great importance in the medieval times. The kingdom over which this house ruled was known as a *vishaya* - 75,000 (*pāḍṇalaksha*).³

The founder of this house was Chāhaḍa. Tod tells us that Prithvirāja of the Chāhamāna dynasty had a brother of the name of Chāhaḍadēva,⁴ but both these rulers are removed in time by about forty-five years and therefore we hesitate to accept the veracity of Tod's account. The name Chāhaḍa is also found in two other inscriptions; one of them was discovered at Udaipur, (Vidishā district) and is dated V.S. 1300, and the other at Bhaktar (Gunā district), which is dated V.S. 1304.⁵ And though the time of both these records is almost the same, we have nothing to show that Chāhaḍa mentioned in them is the same as found in the epigraph from Narwar.

Nothing is known about Ya(Pa)ramādirāja mentioned as an ancestor of Chāhaḍa in the Bhimpur (Śhivpuri district) inscription of V.S. 1319 which gives him only the conventional praise viz., that in bravery he excelled Skanda who killed Tāraka.⁶

A fragmentary inscription from Rataul in the Baghpet *tehsil* of the Meerut District speaks of one Chāhaḍa's donation; it contains in the beginning the usual Chāhamāna genealogy, including the name of Prithvirāja, who was no other than Prithvirāja III of the Chāhamāna house of Śākambhari (1179-1192 A.C.).⁷ This led Dayaram Sahani, the editor of the inscription, to assert that the Chāhaḍadēva of this grant was identical with his namesake who ruled at Narwar and also that he was a lineal descendant of the Chāhamānas of Delhi and Ajmer. Sahani, of course, had propounded this view in the absence of the information from inscriptions which were discovered after he wrote. The first of these was found at Bhimpur, some five kms. south of Narwar, and is dated V.S. 1319 or 1262 A.C. It tells us that "there was a race of kings named Yajvapālas; that in that race was born Śri-Ya(Pa)ramādirāja; and also that he was succeeded by Chāhaḍa."⁸ The other inscription referred to here was found at Narwar; it is dated V.S. 1339 = 1282 A.C. and from it we learn that "there was a hero of the name of Jayapāla and after him, his family was popularly known as Jajapellā."⁹ Connecting both these accounts, it is held that the current popular form of the name of the family, which originated from

1 Nos. 562, 576, 597, 603, 626, 636 and 642.

2 For details, see *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 308 and 319-19; and *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 95.

3 No. 160, v. 3; and No. 175, v. 19.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 56.

5 *A.R.A.D.G.S.*, V.S. 1974, No. 114, and *ibid.*, V.S. 1975, No. 113, both unpublished. Our references are to the work of H.N. Dvivedi, entitled *List of Inscriptions in the Gwālior State* (Hindi), Nos. 107 and 111, respectively.

6 No. 159, v. 7.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 221.

8 No. 159, vv. 6-7. D.C. Ganguly takes Chāhaḍa as the son of Ya(Pa)ramādirāja (*S.E.*, p. 57), which is, of course, not true.

9 No. 175, vv. 3-5.

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a legendary hero of the name of Jayapāla, was Jajapella, which was later on Sanskritised into Yajvapāla, as it appears in the Bhimpur inscription. Thus we see that the rulers of Narwar were Jajapellas or Yajvapālas and not Chāhamānas.¹

CHĀHAḌADĒVA

c. 1242 to 1254 A.C.

We have so far no inscription of this ruler and the period of his reign can be ascertained only from his coins. A. Cunningham has recorded the discovery of his coins from V.S. years 129x to 1311.² Unfortunately the unit figure on his earliest issue is not known, but, as R.D. Banerji has shown, if we take it to be the latest possible year, i.e., 1299, the English equivalents on the dates of his coins would be from 1242 A.C. to 1254 A.C.³

The Bhimpur inscription describes Chāhaḍadēva as "a conflagration for burning the forest of his adversaries"; and though conventional, this praise is well deserved. For, from an inscription at Narwar, we know that he captured from enemies Nalagiri, i.e., Narwar, and other big towns.⁴ This clearly shows that his predecessor Ya(Pa)ramādirāja did not rule at Narwar. The enemy mentioned here is evidently Malik Nusrat-ud-din Tayasāi, a governor of Iltutmish. More on this point will be said presently. However, here we may recall that it was almost at the same time when the Chandēlla Trailōkyavarman wrested Kālāñjar from the enemies, as we have seen above in the history of his house.

To comprehend the history of the house founded by Chāhaḍa, it is necessary to take up a general resume of the important political events in northern India and particularly in the region now comprising Madhya Pradesh and Rājasthān, during the latter half of the thirteenth century A.C. We know how Qutb-ud-din, the slave Sultān of Delhi (1206-1210 A.C.), won a crushing victory over the Chāhamānas, the Chandēllas and some other powers, raided a portion of Gujarāt and Mēwād and also came into hostile contact with a number of princes to the south of his dominions. Soon after, and particularly during the reign of Iltutmish (1211-1236 A.C.) the Muslims had consolidated their power in the valleys of the Indus, the Ganges and the Jumna, and from there they carried out successful raids in parts of Mālwa - in Bhilsā and Ujjain. Almost all the Hindu powers of the North, viz., the Kachchhapaghātas of Gwālior, the Chāhamānas of Rājasthān, the Haihayas of Tripurī and the Chandēllas of the region around Ajaygadh and Kālāñjar all these had felt the brunt of the Muslim onslaught. Prithvirāja III was killed in the battle of Tarain in 1192 A.C., which practically put an end to the rule of the Chāhamānas of Śākambhari, one of the leading powers of the time. It may fairly be presumed that following this incident his followers tried to escape in large numbers, and we know how one of his descendants, Gōvindachandra by name, established himself at Ranthambhōr, a strong fort near Sawai Madhopur in Rājasthān, presumably, of course, as a feudatory of the Muslims. Soon this line of rulers may have cast off the foreign yoke during the weak rule of the successors of Iltutmish. And the example of this ruler may have been followed also by Chāhaḍa, who established himself at Narwar which he had then captured,⁵ some time about the fourth decade of the thirteenth century A.C. And in all probability he, too, may have endeavoured to cast off the Muslim yoke. How far he succeeded in this task remains unknown. For a Muslim historian, Maulānā Minhāj-ud-din by name, records that in 1234 A.C. Iltutmish

1 See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII (1918), p. 243, and *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., XVI (1920), p. 81.

2 *Coins of Med. Ind.*, p. 90.

3 *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XVI (1920), p. 80; Pl. XII, 8.

4 No. 175, v. 6.

5 *Ibid.*

defeated at Ranthambhor a powerful ruler of the name of Chāhaḍadēva. It is not known whether this statement refers to the ruler of Narwar or to the Chāhamāna.¹

After occupying Narwar, Chāhaḍadēva attempted to conquer some of the neighbouring powers. That his army inflicted a crushing defeat on the Paramāras of Mālwa is known from a fragmentary record of the house, which tells us that Āsalla's father Nṛivarman exacted a tribute from "the proud king of Dhārā".² As we shall see below, Nṛivarman predeceased his father Chāhaḍadēva, and therefore it may be held that this event must have taken place during the reign of Chāhaḍadēva himself, at the hands of Nṛivarman as a prince. The Paramāra history of this time is rather obscure, and therefore it is difficult to identify the ruler who was forced to pay tribute to the Yajvapāla house, presumably also acknowledging his allegiance to it. However, a study of the contemporary history may reveal something to enlighten us on this point. We have seen that following the reign of Dēvapāla, the Paramāras were constantly being harassed by their enemies on all sides - the Yādavas in the south, the Chaulūkyas on the west, the Chandēllas in the east and northeast, and the Chāhamānas on the north and northwest; and to add to their catastrophe, the Muslims in the north also were invading their dominions. This is why the details of the Paramāra history of the time are rather complex; but we may hazard a suggestion here that the king who paid tribute to the Yajvapāla house may have been either Dēvapāla's successor Jaitugidēva or the latter's brother Jayavarman, more probably the former, as Chāhaḍadēva could have more easily extended his arms in that direction when he had not become the feudatory of the Muslims, i.e., before c. 1250 A.C.

It is possible to hold that Chāhaḍadēva carved out his principality in the reign of Raziyyā. Nāsiruddin came to the throne in 1246 A.C., and even with his anxiety to ward off the pressing external danger to his reign in the form of the menace of the Mongol invasion, he could not long ignore the disaffected Hindus; and he sent his able general Balban to suppress them. Minhāj-ud-dīn tells us that "the sublime standard (of Balban) moved towards Gwaliyur, Chandiri, Nurwul Malwah".³ Thus Chāhaḍadēva was one of the first princes to bear the brunt of the Muslim attack before which he had to submit, and in all probability, he recognised their suzerainty also. This subjugation, however, appears to have been nominal, as is evident from his coins issued even thereafter. But Balban's invasion was of a plundering nature, his main object being only to extend his victorious arms so far as Mālwa in the south; but not to make any territorial acquisitions. This event happened some time about 1250 A.C.

Chāhaḍadēva did not live long to bear this disgrace; he died some time about V.1311(1254 A.C.), which is the last date found on his coins known so far. This is also the first regnal year of his grandson Āsalladēva, as we know from his coins. Thus, we may safely conclude that Chāhaḍadēva's son Nṛivarman must have predeceased him. Probably he died in a battle, as may be presumed from the unanimous testimony of the contemporary epigraphic records.

From one of the Narwar inscriptions, we learn that Chāhaḍa's Superintendent of treasury (*Kōṣādhyaḥksha*) was a Kāyastha of the name of Dāmōdara, whose family hailed from Gwālior.⁴ No other officer under this king is known from any of the records, which describe him as a brave person.

1 *T.N.*, Vol. I, pp. 690 ff. That the Chāhaḍadēva of Ranthambhor was a different ruler from his namesake who ruled at Narwar is shown in *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XVI, p. 82, and also in the *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XLV, p. 244; for different view, see *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 400.

2 No. 160, v. 5.

3 *T.N.*, *loc. cit.*

4 No. 161, v. 6.

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ĀSALLADĒVA

1254 to 1279 A.C.

As seen above, Chāhaḍadēva was succeeded by his grandson Āsalladēva. We have two inscriptions for the history of this ruler. One of them was found at Bhimpur (No. 159); it is dated V.S. 1319 = 1262-63 A.C.; and the other (No. 160), which is incomplete, undated, and seems to have belonged to his son Gōpāladēva's reign. Besides, the Rāi (Shivpuri District) *satī* stone inscription, dated V.S. 1327, is mentioned in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII, p. 241; but the whereabouts of the stone bearing it are unknown to-day.

No event of the reign of Āsalladēva is known from any of the sources. Balban, the Sultān of Delhi, was at this time busy suppressing the revolt of Bengal in the far east and repelling the Mongol invasions in the north west, as seen above. It may be presumed, however, that Āsalladēva continued to rule as a feudatory of the Muslims who considered him as an effective check and a buffer state against the Paramāras in the south. One of our inscriptions states that Āsalladēva was strong in cavalry and infantry.¹

The name of the queen of this ruler was Lāvaṇyadēvi,² her parentage being unknown. The Baḍōḍī record mentions his Chief Minister Dēvadhara, whose wife Nīlā excavated a well at that place.³

GŌPĀLADĒVA

1279 to 1289 A.C.

Āsalladēva was succeeded by his son Gōpāladēva, who is known to us from four inscriptions found at Baḍōḍī, Narwar, Survāyā and Sēsai, all in the Shivpuri District and dated respectively in V.S. 1336(1279 A.C.), 1339(1282 A.C.), 1341(1284 A.C.).⁴ Besides these, we have included here thirteen inscriptions discovered at Baṅglā, a village near Narwar,⁵ since they are helpful in reconstructing the contemporary history.

Gōpāladēva ascended the throne in about 1279 A.C., which is also the time of the Baḍōḍī inscription mentioning the construction of a stepped well, by his Chief Minister named Chhaliyā. He was a brave general. The Narwar inscription dated V.S. 1339⁶ tells us that he defeated the Jējābhukti ruler Viravarman in a battle. The inscriptions of the Chandēlla king Viravarman range from 1254 to 1286 A.C., and he too claims to have won a victory over the Yajvapāla king in his Dāhī (Bijāwar, Chhatarpur District) copper-plate inscription of V.S. 1337 = 1280 A.C.⁷ And since there is no reference to it in the Baḍōḍī inscription of V.S. 1336, which too was issued in the reign of the same king, the engagement appears to have taken place some time in V.S. 1337-38, corresponding to 1281-82 A.C. We have some further evidence to know the definite date of the battle. A number of memorial pillars have been discovered at Baṅglā, a small village situated about eight kms. to the east of the fort of Narwar, some sixteen of which were counted and seven more recorded by the late M.B. Garde,⁸ and subsequently, by D.C. Sircar, who edited them in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. XXXI. The results in details are given in our edition of the same, in this work, to which reference is invited here.

1 See No. 179, v. 6, and my *n.* on it.

2 No. 161, v. 6.

3 *Ibid.*, vv. 19 and 23.

4 Nos. 161, 175, 176 and 177.

5 Nos. 162-174.

6 No. 161, vv. 19-20 and 23.

7 *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 74; *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 241; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXII p. 404.

8 For details, see my writing in the edition of the inscriptions Nos. 162-174.

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From our epigraphic records, we know of some of the officers under Gōpāla who participated in the struggle. One of them was Jaitabrahmadēva who is mentioned in the inscriptions from Baṅglā, another was Minister Gāṅgadēva, mentioned in one of the Narwar inscriptions, dated V.S. 1338 = 1282 A.C. A *Satī* stone at Pacharāi in the Śhivpuri District, dated V.S. 1345 = 1289 A.C. also refers to the battle and mentions Gōpālādēva's feudatories Hamsarāja and the latter's son, Valhadēva, who appears to have been the same as Palhadēva described as constructing a stepped well and planting a garden for the good of his deceased younger brother (and not the son as mentioned in the inscription) Hamsarāja, at Narwar in V.S. 1355 or 1299 A.C.¹ One Kumāra Ballāladēva, a son of Hamsarāja, is mentioned in the Bijōliā (Udaipur) inscription of V.S. 1349;² the names of the father and the son are the same as given in the Pacharāi inscription, and the dates are not far removed. But we cannot safely identify these two persons with those of the Narwar record mentioned above in the absence of any corroborative evidence.

The last known year of Gōpālādēva's reign is 1289 A.C., if we identify him with his namesake mentioned in the Pacharāi inscription. And as the first known record of his son Gaṇapatidēva was issued in 1294 A.C., we may hold that the latter prince ascended the throne some time about 1290 A.C.

The Sēsai inscription and some of those found at Baṅglā reveal the name of *Mahākumāra* Jaitravarman or Jaitabrahmadēva. From the title of *Mahākumāra*, this person appears to have been a son of Gōpālādēva, in whose time the struggle at Baṅglā took place, and who was probably regarded as the heir to the throne. D.C. Sircar has rightly brought this point to light and also held that this heir-apparent seems to have predeceased his father since Gōpālādēva's throne passed after his death to the other son Gaṇapati.³

GAṆAPATIDĒVA

c. 1290 to c. 1300 A.C.

We have two inscriptions of the time of this ruler. One of them was found at Survāyā and the other at Narwar. They are dated, respectively, in V.S. 1350 and 1355, corresponding to 1294 and 1298 A.C.⁴

Of Gaṇapatidēva's military achievement, nothing is known except that he renewed the struggle with the Chandēllas, which his father Gōpālādēva had begun, as already seen above. The Narwar stone inscription gives him the credit of capturing Kirtidurga, which may be identified with Chandēri in the Gunā District or with Dēogaḍh (Jhānsi Dist.). The Budhērā pillar inscription of V.S. 1351 (1295 A.C.) states that Kirtidurga was then governed by the Bundēlla chiefs who were the feudatories of the Chandēllas. Probably the Bundēllas were defeated. The capture of such an important fort therefore speaks highly of Gaṇapatidēva's valour. It is not known whether the contemporary *Satī* stone inscriptions, discovered at Bhēsarwāḍ and Balārpur in the same region and which mention his name, can also be associated with the struggle.⁵ It may be presumed, however, that the Yajvapāla ruler may have been helped in this struggle, by his feudatory Rānā Chāchigadēva, who, in his Survāyā inscription of V.S. 1350 = 1294 A.C. is mentioned as Gōpāla's godson (*dharmaputra*) and the son of Padma of the Muchchhaka family.⁶

1 No. 179. For the Pacharāi inscription, see H.N. Dvivedi's *list*, No. 157.

2 *A.S.I.R.*, W.C., 1905-06, No. 2159.

3 *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXII (1956), p. 309.

4 Nos. 178-79. For an earlier inscription of the time of this ruler, dated V. 1348, see *I.N.I.* No. 628. The stone is now not traceable, and no impression of it too is available. It is not edited here.

5 This is M.B. Gadre's view propounded in *A.R.A. D.G.S.*, for v. 1922 (un-published). For the *satī* stones found at both these places, see Dvivedi's *list* Nos. 172 and 152, respectively.

6 No. 179, v. 14.

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It is not known how long Gaṇapati retained his hold over Chandēri and even over his principality with its capital at Narwar. This was the time when Alā-ud-din's armies were marching towards the Deccan; and we know that in his expeditions to the south in 1294 A.C., the Sultan followed the Chandēri-Bhilsā route.¹ Thus this was probably the time when Gaṇapati's principality was annexed to the Muslim empire; his fate being unknown.

ADMINISTRATION

The inscriptions edited here mainly come from the different parts of Madhya Pradesh, viz., Mālwa, Vindhya and the Gwālior-Shivpuri region, and some from its adjoining areas comprising the Bānswāḍa and Sirōhi tracts of south-west Rājasthān and the Districts of Jhānsi, Bāndā and Hamirpur in the central and northern parts of Uttar Pradesh. In each of these regions, which presented not only varied geographical features but also diversified regional culture and traditions, the form of administration developed in its own way, and that too was bound to change from time to time with the extension of the boundaries of the different kingdoms existing there; and this being the case, we do not find uniformity in all the spheres of administration in the entire region. Therefore, it is proposed to give here only a general picture of the structure of the administration as it emerges mainly from our epigraphs which, even though with the meagre data furnished by them, depict the actual state of affairs. Orthodox sources, which often times present ideal features, cannot be regarded fully trustworthy, and are referred to only incidentally.

Out of all the royal houses with which we are concerned here, only two, viz., that of the Chandēllas and that of the Paramāras of Mālwa, rose to imperial eminence from an humble beginning, whereas the others ruled only in feudatory capacity. The kingdoms of both these dynasties were fairly extensive; and whereas the first of these was known by the term *bhukti*, as we know from the expression *Jējābhukti*, *Jējābhuktika* or *Jējākabhukti*, which we generally find in their inscriptions,² the second was designated as a *dēśa* and occasionally also as *maṇḍala*.³ Among the other kingdoms, that of the Ābū Paramāra house was known as *maṇḍala*,⁴ and that governed by the rulers belonging to the Vāgaḍa branch, generally as *maṇḍala*, though sometimes also as *dēśa* and *viśaya*, as we find in their inscriptions.⁵ The territory governed by the Yajvapāla rulers was designated as a *viśaya*,⁶ and as for the designation of the kingdoms of the rest of our ruling dynasties, viz., those of the Kachchhapaghātas⁷ and Paramāra houses of Bhinnāl and Jālōr, our inscriptions are altogether silent.

As anywhere else in the Indian kingdoms of our period, the ruler was the supreme administrative head, and his executive, legislative and judiciary powers were unlimited. The Śukraniti sāra, which is almost a contemporary work, states that the king was "at the root of the tree of administration",⁸ thus denoting him to be the fountain source of power.

1 Elliot, Vol. III, p. 149.

2 As known after Jējā or Jayasakti, one of the earliest kings belonging to this house.

3 For *dēśa*, see P.C.M., p. 1 and *Prabhāvakacharita*, pp. 134, 158 and 161 where it is called Mālava *dēśa*, but also Avanti *dēśa* in p. 139. For *maṇḍala*, see P.C.M., p. 25, and *Prabhāvakacharita*, p. 185. In No. 32, l. 1, it is mentioned as a *saṃrājya*.

4 Cf. *Arbuda-maṇḍala* in No. 63, l. 3.

5 See respectively, No. 11, l. 8; No. 90, vv. 2 and 25.

6 Cf. *pādōnalakṣa-viśaya* in No. 159, v. 14 and No. 175, v. 19.

7 It is only the Gwālior inscription of Mahipāla (No. 155) which uses the word *maṇḍala* in a general way in its v. 102.

8 *Rājya-vrikshasya mūlam hi nripatih* etc., v. 12. On the date of this work divergent opinions prevail, but I agree with Dr. A.S. Altekar in assigning it to between 900-1200 A.C. See his *State and Government in Anc. India*, 3rd edn., 1958, p.20. In this respect, also see S.E., p. 254, n.9.

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He was the ultimate authority for the appointment, promotion, transfer and dismissal of ministers and other officers under him and also to choose the members of his assembly and court-poets,¹ and nominate his successor.² He exercised full control over his feudal subordinates, as we know from the instance of Vikramasimha, a Paramāra ruler of the Ābū branch, who was dethroned by his overlord, the Chaulūkyā Kumārapāla, for his treachery.³ Whenever necessitated by occasion, the king would also lead an army himself, as we find from a number of grants issued from military camps. He was also to look to the internal safety of his subjects, preserve peace and order to promote their welfare and ensure defence against foreign aggressions. All these duties go to justify the statements of our inscriptions calling him a monarch with the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (the supreme lord), *Mahārājādhirāja* (the king of kings) and *Paramēśvara* (the lord paramount).⁴

The supreme authority in all the affairs of government was vested in him because of his divine status for, he is often described in our records as an incarnation of God in human form and His agent on the earth. For example, verse four of the Dēogaḍh inscription, dated V. 1154, describes the Chandēlla king Kirtivarman as having Yudhishṭhira, Sadāśiva and Rāmachandra in his body, and verse nine of an Ajaygaḍh inscription of V. 1317 identifies his successor Viravarman with Viṣṇu and Īśa (Śiva), and thus deserving regard from the subjects.⁵ Taking examples from the Imperial Paramāra kingdom, we see that the Udaipur *prasaśti* describes Vākpati resembling Śatamakha (Indra), the Dōngargāon inscription of Jagaddēva, dated in Śaka 1034 states that Bhōja resembled Rāma in excellence; and the Nagpur Museum stone inscription records that the Paramāra Lakshmadēva was Puruṣhōttama himself and also that his campaign in the different quarters struck their guardians with terror.⁶ Almost the same sort of description is to be found in the case of kings with smaller territories and occasionally also in the case of feudatories. The Sāsbaḥū temple inscription of V.S. 1150 uses different similes to describe the Kachchhapaghāta king Mahipāla, showing that he resembled gods, demi-gods and legendary heroes;⁷ and the Yajvapāla kings are often stated in their record to have been *jagadvandya*,⁸ deserving high respect. The Girviḍ stone inscription of V.S. 1344 states that Dhārāvarsha excelled Chaṇḍikā in bravery, and in the same record his son Sōmasimha is said to have equalled Rāma and Sōmasimha's grandson Pratāpasimha is compared to Pradyumna.⁹ The Arthūṇā inscription of Chāmūṇḍarāja of the Vāgaḍa family bestows the same sort of praise on the king himself and his ancestors.¹⁰ It is true that all the descriptions of this type come from the court-poets and are therefore not to be taken at their face value; but, shorn of the exaggeration, they at least go to show the high honour that a king commanded from his subjects. It is for this reason that the courts of kings were marked with great pomp and show and are described in the epigraphs and other sources as crowded with ministers, other officers, court-poets and sycophants.

In order to perform all these functions successfully, the king, besides possessing the cardinal virtues like justice, prudence, temperance and fortitude, of which we have

1 As to be seen below in the individual instances.

2 For example, Muṇja nominated his brother Sindhurāja as his successor, for which see *N.S.C.*, XI, v. 98. Also see No. 28, vv. 7-8. Dhārāvarsha called his younger brother Prahādāna a *kumāra* in No. 67, 1.6, and in 70, 1.3.

3 Jinamaṇḍana's *Kumārapālāprabandha*, quoted in *H.P.D.* p. 303, n. 3.

4 This concerns only the imperial rulers. The feudatories were called *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Maṇḍalēśvara*, *Maṇḍalika* or *Māṇḍalika* and *Sāmanta*, etc., according to their status.

5 No. 111 and No. 125, respectively. Also cf. *Śukranītisāra*, II, v. 212.

6 No. 28, v. 4 and No. 33, vv. 44 ff., respectively.

7 No. 155, vv. 35 ff. Here cf. *Śukranītisāra*, III, v. 50.

8 For example, see No. 179, v. 4.

9 No. 82, vv. 15-17.

10 No. 85.

innumerable references in our inscriptions, had to be an efficient controller, a skilful horseman, a good bowman and an intrepid warrior, in brief, all the indispensable qualification of a leader during those troubled times. To give a few instances, we find that the Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman describes his ancestor Jayavarman as an abode of liberality, truthfulness, political wisdom and valour;¹ the story of Bhōja's *rādhāvēdha* is well-known;² Dhāravarsha is known to have pierced three buffaloes standing in a line, with one arrow;³ and the Kachchhapaghāta ruler Virasimha is said to have been compassionate, helpful, virtuous and truthful, and, above all, an undaunted warrior.⁴

The king was coronated with the usual ceremonies as prevalent from the very early times, and this ceremony was performed with great éclat and splendour.⁵ On this occasion he would assure the subjects of his protection, release prisoners, and sometimes also issue grants.⁶ The divinity of the king was then emphasised, the intention being on the one hand, to stress on him the importance of the crown and the responsibilities that he had to shoulder, and, on the other hand, to make the people render reverence and obedience to him. He was called *prabhu*, *svāmin* and *dēva* and was addressed by similar other terms.

As in the earlier times, monarchy continued to be hereditary in all the kingdoms represented by our inscriptions.⁷ As regards succession, the deceased king was generally followed on the throne by his eldest son, and in case when he left no male issue behind him, the crown passed on to his younger brother or any other member of the royal family and a near relative. The successor would always show him the due regard by recording the phrase *tatpād-ānudhyāta* in his grant.⁸ Thus, we find that the Paramāra kings Vākpati and Bhōjadēva, either of whom is not known to have left a son behind him, were followed on the throne respectively by their brothers Sindhurāja and Udayāditya;⁹ and the fact that Udayāditya's son Jagaddēva who was appointed heir-apparent by his father, presented the Royal fortune to his elder brother Naravarman,¹⁰ goes to show that it was a well-established custom that the throne usually went to the eldest son of the deceased king. The same custom of primogeniture was current among all the other royal families dealt with here, though we find a few exceptional cases which may have been due to some unknown circumstances. We have a few instances to show that the king nominated his successor.

The Chandēlla records furnish two interesting instances of voluntary abdication of the throne, viz., that of Dhaṅga who had lived for more than one hundred years and that of Jayavarman who, as he himself declared, felt weary of carrying on the burden of government.¹¹ The first of these kings was succeeded by his son Gaṇḍa or grandson Vidyādhara, but the succession of the latter by his uncle Prithivivarman, which appears to be rather unusual; it may have been due to there being no other capable person

1 No. 125, v. 11.

2 See No. 60, v. 34 and *n.* under the same.

3 No. 82, v. 15. Also cf. the expression *mūrdh-ābhishikta* in No. 145, v. 11.

4 No. 157.

5 As we know from No. 155.

6 For example, see No. 155, v. 68, and No. 47.

7 For example, see the expression *labdhānvayaḥ* in No. 84, v. 26, *anukrama-vaśāt* in No. 86, v. 71 and *kula-rājya-dhuraṇi dadhau* in No. 125, v. 12.

8 The meaning of this expression has been correctly shown by D.C. Sircar in the *Journ. of the Andhra Res. Soc.*, Vol. X, p. 229 and also by K. Chattopadhyaya in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XVIII (1942) p. 64. This reminds us of the expression *tat-parigrihitah* of the Gupta inscriptions.

9 See above in the political history section.

10 No. 28, v. 8. The appointment of a heir-apparent (or successor) is known from *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 211, v. 38; and also from *N.S.C.*, XI, v. 98.

11 No. 114, v. 55 and No. 148, v. 25, respectively. In the latter of these records the name of Prithivivarman is broken in its first part, but it can be taken to refer to the same king.

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to succeed the deceased monarch.¹ However, viewing all the cases of succession to the royal throne in the families dealt with here, this is not a single instance in which it was disputed.

The younger sons and some of the other relatives of the king are known to have been appointed to responsible posts in the government. We have seen that the Paramāra prince Lakshmadēva worked as governor in the eastern part of the dominions of his father Udayāditya, that Prahlādāna, who was appointed *yuvārāja*, helped his elder brother Dhāravarsha in administration, and also that the Chandēlla Yaśovarman placed his younger son Krishnapa to guard the south western frontier of his kingdom adjoining to the Mālava territories. The word *rājaputra* and *rājita*, which are often used in our records,² probably point to the same practice. None of our inscriptions says anything about the procedure of the education of these persons.

The queen was known as Rājñī or Mahishī,³ and the chief queen as *paṭarāñī*, *pattapranayinī*, *mahishī* or *mahārājñī*.⁴ We have no example of a queen taking part in administration, except in the case of Dhāravarsha's dowager queen Śringaradēvī working as a regent during the minority of her son Sōmasimha.⁵ She could make a grant only with the permission of her husband, excepting in case of that when she made from her *jāgīr*, as we know from the expression *sva-bhuktāv-āyātām*, often used in our inscriptions.

No small portion of the kingdom was held by the feudal proprietors known as *Rājakas*,⁶ *Rājitas*,⁷ *Sāmantas*⁸ and *Thakkuras*,⁹ who performed some military service to their overlords, by annually paying some amount of money or by sending their troops to fight their battles, or both. Broadly speaking, all these subordinates were the masters of the land granted to them and looked to the administration, and security of the territory in their charge.

The supreme authority of the king, as described in our records, shows that the type of government was monarchical, but his actions were not arbitrary. One of the checks on his wilful actions was the public opinion which he had to respect.¹⁰ He was also responsible for promoting virtue, as is indicated by the expressions *dharma-rājya* often used for his government in our inscriptions; and for establishing *dharma*, his personal conduct itself was to be an example. Most of our records refer to him as a virtuous person, eager to acquire religious merit, and of good behaviour and self-restraint. A paramāra inscription describes Naravarman as a kinsman of a respectable woman (*para-nārī-sahōdara*), and a similar expression, viz., *para-kul-ānganā-bandhu*, is used in the case of Dēvavarman in a Chandēlla grant.¹¹ Thus the greatest check on his actions was the awe of religion. Besides being endowed with bravery and the knowledge of the science of warfare, which expected him to be a good Bowman and skilful horseman, as we have already seen, he was to be an abode of good qualities and was expected to have knowledge of the *Śāstras*, which he was implicitly to follow in administration, as we know from expressions in our epigraphs, viz., *dharm-ādhyāra*, *dharma-parāyaṇa* *dharma-bhīru*, *dharma-para*, and so on.¹²

1 For a similar case, cf. the accession of the Yādava king Bhīllama (V) succeeding his nephew Kālīya Ballāla by superseding the latter's sons, as stated by Hēmadri in his introduction to the *Vṛatakhanda*, quoted in *E.H.D.*, p.242, v.17.

2 For example, in No.69, 1.4.

3 For example, in No. 119, 11.23 and 27-28. Also see *P.C.M.*, p. 23.

4 Respectively, No. 70, 1.3; No. 73, v. 3; No. 145, v. 14; and No. 119, 1. 23.

5 As in No. 77.

6 E.g., in No. 41, 1. 13; No. 71, 1. 10 and No. 142, 1. 13.

7 It is an abbreviation of *rājaputra* and found in No. 121, 1. 3; No. 128, 1. 3 and No. 137, 1. 3, by way of an example.

8 See, for example, No. 91, 1. 9.

9 E.g., in No. 56, 1. 38 and No. 120, 1. 2.

10 For example, see No. 76, v. 9 (*labdh-ānūrāgō janē*).

11 Respectively, No. 36, 11. 13-14 and No. 108, 1. 7.

12 Respectively, No. 114, v. 31; No. 117, 1. 3; No. 98, v. 20; and No. 111, v. 2.

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The supreme authority of the king was also controlled by what is known as the *mantri-parishad*, or *amātya-sabhā* (council of ministers), which played a very important part in administration. The *Sukranīti sāra*, which we have already referred to, lays down that the ministers are "trunks of the tree of the kingdom" (v. 12); and that this injunction was completely in practice is known from references in our records. The *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya states that the advice of the ministers should be sought by the king but also that the ultimate responsibility rests with him.¹ To cite a clear case, we have seen how Rudrāditya, the minister of Vākpati-Muñja, requested him not to cross the Gōdāvari in his campaign in the south.

In addition to all these checks, the king also had to consider the opinions of those who formed the retinue of his court, e.g., the nobles in attendance (*sāmantas*), the chamberlain, the *paṇḍitas*, poets and bards, and also the *pratihāra* (door-keeper) who regulated the peoples' entrance to his presence.

The ministers were known variously as *amātya*, *mantrin*, *sachiva*, *pradhāna* and *sarvādhikārin*, all these expressions being used in our records; but on very rare occasions the difference between one another of them has been brought out. The Dēogaḍh inscription describes Vatsarāja as the *amātyamantrin* of the Chandēlla king Kirtivarman;² and this probably shows that he was the king's chief minister and an adviser as well. One of the Kachchhapaghāta record uses both the terms, viz., *amātya* and *mantrin*³ which also goes to indicate that sometimes the two designations were different and sometimes combined in one person. The fragmentary Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman uses both the words *mantrin* and *sachiva* in the same verse,⁴ and for the same person, showing that the terms were occasionally almost equivalent. Thus we find that different practices prevailed in the different reigning families and this difference naturally existed even in one and the same reigning house.

The chief minister was helped by some others in the affairs of administration, as we shall see below. In smaller kingdoms, however, e.g., in that of the junior branches of the Paramāras, the Kachchhapaghātas and the Yajvapālas, we have not even a single instance when there were more ministers than one, who was sometimes called *sarvādhikārin*⁵ (plenipotentiary). He controlled the *Śrī-karaṇa* (Chief Secretariat).

As to the acquirements of a minister, we have epigraphic evidences to tell us that besides coming from a noble family, he should have studied the *Śāstras*, to be spotless in character, upright, virtuous, of clear intellect, resolute in will and action, and besides, he should be skilled in archery and a leader of horses and elephants, as he had also to consolidate the kingdom of his master and stabilise it by suppressing enemies and troublesome elements.⁶ Almost the same sort of description we find in our ancient scriptures.⁷

The injunction of the *Smritis* that heredity should be considered in the selection of ministers was actually observed in our age at least in some of the kingdoms. This

1 Cf. *Rājnah eva dōshah na mantrinah* in *Mitāksharā* on Yāj.Sm., Ch.II, v.1.

2 No. 111, v. 5.

3 No. 158, l. 4.

4 No. 125, vv. 30. In the T.M. we often find the use of the adjectives *buddhi-sachiva* and *narṇa-sachiva*, e.g., on pp. 28 and 189, and p. 18 respectively. Being a contemporary work it must be taken into account though we have no epigraphic evidence to corroborate it.

5 This of course excludes doubtful cases as in No. 179, v. 14, where we find the use of the term *mantri-varishṭha* (the topmost of the ministers), and where we have the mention of only one minister.

6 For some these references, see No. 125, v. 17; No. 150, v. 22; and No. 179, v. 21.

7 Cf. Yājñavalkya, I, xiii, v. 311, and

Sa mantrinah prakurvita prajñān maulān sthūrān śuchān |

taiḥ sārḍham chintayēd = rājyaṁ viprēṇ = ātha tataḥ param ||

and Maulān śāstra-vidah sthūrān labdhā-lakshyān (kul)-ōdbhavān |

sachivān sapta ch = āstān vā kurvita su-parikshitān || quoted in *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya. Also Cf. the expression *anvaya-prāpta-sāchivya* in the Udayagiri inscription of Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty.

is testified to by the records of the Chandēllas, as we know from the expressions *maulāh* occurring in v. 41 of the Mau stone inscription, and I. C-1 of the Darbāt inscription uses the word *kul-āmātya* in the same connection. The first of these records also states in its v. 17: *tad-varṣaḥ kīrtiyatē'dhunā* thereby stressing the eminence of the family to which the ministers of the royal family belonged. As already pointed out by A.S. Altekar, five generations of one family, viz., Prabhāsa, his son Śivanāga, his son Mahipāla, his son Ananta and his son Gadādhara worked as ministers or prime ministers under seven generations of the dynasty represented by Dhaṅga to Prithivīvarman.¹ Similarly, the Baṭeśvara stone inscription says that Lāhaḍa was minister under Madanavarman, and also that the former's son Sallakṣhaṇa and grandson Puruṣhōttama worked in the same capacity under Paramardin, the grandson of Madanavarman. We have two more examples to add here: one of them is from the Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of the time of Viravarman which says that as many as seven members of the family of Lakṣmidhara successively served the kings of this dynasty from Kīrtivarman to Viravarman in ministerial or some other capacity,² and another from the same place, stating that Nāna, the chief minister of Bhōjavarman, was one of the seven members of the family which successively served the royal house.³

Of the several instances that go to show that an interview by the king himself was necessary for appointment to the post of ministers and other officers, only a few may be cited here. The Mau stone inscription, which we have often referred to above, clearly states that Prabhāsa was first tested by Dhaṅga and his son Gaṇḍa, as we know from the use of the word *parikṣhya* in its v. 21. It also says that the king Sallakṣhaṇa interviewed some persons before appointing them on suitable posts. This procedure is corroborated by another inscription which comes from Ajaygaḍh. From it we know that it was only after a test that Paramardin appointed Gaṅgādhara, a descendent of Jājūka, to the post of his chief minister and also that Trailōkyavarman, the next king, entrusted Vāshē of the same family to guard the fort at that place.⁴

So far as records of the Paramāras and the other dynasties dealt with here are concerned, we lack this sort of detailed information, though we definitely know that the ministers and other responsible officers were appointed only by the king.⁵

None of our inscriptions mentions the full strength of ministers and high state functionaries at one time under any of the kingdoms represented by them. The records of the junior branches of the Paramāras, the Kachchhapaghātas and the Yajvapālas mention only the chief minister, calling him *mantrin*, *amātya*, *sachiva* and sometimes *sarvādhikārin* or *adhikāri-mukhya*, showing that in each of these kingdoms there was only one minister who was invested with supreme powers of carrying on the entire administration, in addition to the accountant who is occasionally mentioned. But the Chandēllas and the Paramāras of the main branch, who reigned over extensive areas, must naturally have more than one minister working simultaneously, though their definite number is nowhere recorded. All the ministerial posts too do not appear to have come into being at one time and also varied from time to time. With these general remarks, we now proceed to learn about the functions of the ministers other than the chief minister whose duties we have already seen.

Mahā-sāndhivigrahika: This officer was in charge of the Department of Peace and War, like a Foreign Minister of the present time, and thus an important member of the ministry in those days. He was the political adviser to the king on matters concerning warfare, and received instructions from him, and either himself drafted royal charters or

1 *State and Govt. in Anc. Ind.*, 1958 (3rd edn.), p. 179.

2 No. 145.

3 No. 153.

4 No. 150, vv. 10 and 17 respectively.

5 See No. 57, ll. 49-50; No. 60, v. 72; No. 80, ll. 3-4; and No. 155, v. 32, for example.

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supervised their drafting by some one else.¹ The first *Sāndhivigrahika* recorded in the inscriptions of the Paramāras was Bilhaṇa who flourished during the reign of Vindhya-varman and Arjunavarman² and appears to have been succeeded by Mālādhara under Jayavarman II.³ So far as the kingdom of the Chandēllas is concerned, this officer is mentioned only twice, first in the Baṭeśvara stone inscription of V.S. 1252 and thus slightly earlier than in the Paramāra records just referred to, and thereafter in the Dhurēji copper-plate inscription of 1212 A.C.⁴ The Kālvaṇ plate of Yaśovarman, a feudatory of the Paramāra Bhōjadēva, was drafted by Jōgēśvara who is mentioned as a *Sāndhivigrahika*, and a parallel instance is afforded by the Arthūṇā inscription of the time of Vijayarāja who belonged to the Vāgaḍa branch of the Paramāras. It is a sectarian record, dated in V.S. 1166.⁵ The first of these two documents comes from Nāsik which was then included in the southernmost part of the Paramāra kingdom; and thus it may show a different sort of affair, but it appears rather curious that even feudatory princes could employ a *Sāndhivigrahika* under them. Here it is worth noting that in both these records the designation appears without the word *mahat*, as we find in some cases, elsewhere.

The *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, who had to keep regular records of the king's warfare and sometimes also to draft the charters, was expected to be learned. Bilhaṇa, mentioned above, was not only a *Pandita* but also a poet; and the Chandēlla minister referred to above is stated to have been "foremost among the learned" (*vidyāvātām paramah*) and a poet of the first rank (*kavi-chakravartī*).⁶

This officer is not to be found in the earlier records of the Paramāras, whose charters were composed or drafted by some other persons, for example, the Ujjain grant of Vākpatirāja was drafted by one Guṇandhara about whom nothing is stated in the record except that he was a Kāyastha. Similarly, the Kachchhapaghāta inscriptions of V.S. 1145, 1150 and 1161 were composed respectively by Udayarāja, Manikantha and Yaśodēva, the first of whom is stated to have possessed a clear brain (*śuddha-dhī*) and the rest two were of high erudition and eminent poets.⁷ The records of Yajvapālas dated V.S. 1350 and 1355 were composed by two brothers, viz., Jayasīmha and Sivanābha, both of whom were highly learned and sons of a Treasury Officer,⁸ Lōhaṇa by name.

Dharma-lēkhin: This officer is mentioned only in some of the later records of the Chandēllas,⁹ showing that a separate department existed under them. He was an important officer of the Central Government. He appears to have kept a record of religious endowments made from time to time. It is interesting to note here that this department is mentioned under the Chaulūkyas and the Kalachuris also.¹⁰

1 As stated in our authorities, for which, compare:
Sāndhivigrahakāri tu bhavēd = yas = tasya lēkhakāḥ |
svayam rājā samādishṭaḥ sa likhēd = rāja - śāsanam ||
(*Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya).

2 See No. 185, v. 19, which is his own composition, and Nos. 47-48 and 51, which were composed under his guidance.

3 No. 57, l. 50.

4 No. 139, vv. 30-31 and No. 143, l. 8. The first of these records was composed by Dēvadhara who was the son of *Mahā-sachiva-sāndhivigrahakārin* Gadādhara and the use of the word *sachiva* clearly indicates that he enjoyed the status of a minister. The second record drops the word *mahat* before it, as we have seen in some other cases.

5 No. 90, v. 29.

6 This reminds us of Harishēṇa, the composer of the Allahabad *prasthā* of Śāmuḍragupta and his *sāndhivigrahika*, showing thereby that eminently learned persons were appointed on this post.

7 Nos. 154 to 156, respectively.

8 Nos. 178 and 179, respectively.

9 Nos. 119, 126, 130-132 and 134 were all drafted by this officer. The first of these is of the time of Madanavarman and all the rest belong to the time of Paramardīn (1166-1202 A.C.), and thus this office seems to have existed only for a short time.

10 For the Chaulūkyas, see *P.C.M.*, p. 26 (*Tan = mantri dharmavahikāyām = ālīkha*); and for the Kalachuris, see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. cxlii. Thus it appears to have been a widespread practice.

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Pratirājyika: This officer is mentioned in the Kālvaṇ grant of Yaśovarman, a feudatory of the Paramāra prince Bhōjadēva.¹ It has been explained as 'probably an envoy at the court of a hostile king;² but it is doubtful whether a feudatory prince was entitled to employ an envoy when in all foreign affairs he was to deal with his imperial overlord. It is also unknown why this officer figures among those in whose presence the grant was announced, as we find in this record.

Military Department: The importance of the military department in our age cannot be over-estimated; and though the king and the chief minister himself led the army occasionally, we find that there was a regular military department functioning at least under the Chandēllas and also under the Paramāras, its head being designated as *sēnāpati*, *danḍanāyaka* or *danḍādhipa*.³ The *sēnāpati* Madanavarman, as recorded in the Ichchhāvar plate inscription of Paramardin, received a grant from the king in a camp (l. 19), presumably for some distinguished military service, and the *danḍanāyaka* Śrīchandra, as we are told in an inscription from Bhilsā (Vidisha), got the eulogy of the Sun prepared from the *mahākavichakravartin* Chhittapa (l. 12). Our records also use the designations *mahāsādhnika*, *mahāsahanika* and *sādhnika*⁴ etc., who appear to have been officers of a lower cadre in the army. This department also possessed some other officers who were efficient in controlling elephants and horses (*hastyaśvanētā*) and expert in curing the diseases of the horses etc. Ordinary soliders were known as *bhaṭas*, so often referred to in our inscriptions.

The people in the military service were rewarded for their valorous deeds, as we learn from the Dāhi plate stating that the general Mallaya received a gift for his victory over the king of Narwar, and also from the Charkhāri grant which was registered in favour of *Rāuta* Abhi for his bravery in the battle of Sondhi. The Gaḍhā charter registers a grant to the heir of a person killed in a battle (*mṛtyuka-vṛitti*).

The army consisted mainly of elephant forces, cavalry, and foot soldiers. The chariots of the old times had almost disappeared, though they were sometimes used by the kings and their generals.⁵ The elephant force was an important part of the army. The Khajurāhō inscription of V. 1011, for example, describes Yaśovarman entering the battle field as mounted on an elephant and surrounded by warriors holding bows and arrows in their hands (v. 28). The Nagpur Museum stone inscription gives a poetic description of the elephant forces of Lakshmanavarman in vv. 45 and 50-51.⁶ That there was an officer to control this force is known from the *Tilakamāñjarī* which mentions a *karisāadhanādhyaksha* on p. 149. We have also some examples of kings fighting with sword in hand. Bow and arrows were also used in a battle; and some references to *kunta* we have, e.g., in the case of the Kachchhapaghāta Mahipāla.⁷ King Dhāravarsha is well known for the use of an arrow, as we have already seen above.

Military guards with competent forces were placed at places of strategic importance. The Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of the time of Bhōjavarman⁸ (undated) informs us that Mahēśvara, his descendant Gaṅgādhara, his descendant Ālhū and the latter's great-grandson

1 No. 16, l. 26.

2 See *L.E.G.*, p. 260.

3 No. 129, l. 19, and *T.M.*, pp. 80-81.

4 Respectively, No. 5, l. 9; No. 111, l. 4; and No. 60, l. 87. The first and third references are from the Paramāra inscriptions and the second is from that of the Chandēlla ruler Madanavarman. The word evidently comes from *sādhana* meaning an army.

5 Whereas according to Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka, victory depends mainly on the elephant force, the *Nītivākyaṃṛita* states that untrained elephants cause troubles of various types. In his *Yuktikalpataru* the Paramāra ruler Bhōjadēva lays down that chariots are to be used on level ground, elephants in uneven tracts, and horses in desolate forests.

6 Nos. 98 and 33 respectively.

7 No. 155, v. 10, also see vv. 5 and 23 of the same, referring to bow and sword, respectively, as in many other inscriptions.

8 No. 155.

Vāsēka, who all belonged to the family of Jājūka, the chief minister of Gaṇḍa, worked as officers in charge of the fortress of Kālāñjar, and Vāsēka's younger brother Ānanda was in charge of that of Ajaygaḍh. We also learn from the same record that Gaṅgādhara and his brother Jaunādhara died in course of protecting the fort from the attacks of an enemy who is not mentioned by name. The word used in v. 20 of this inscription is *durgādhipa* (governor of the fort), indicating the importance of his duties.

Kōṭṭapāla: This designation occurs in the Dhurēṭi plate dated in the Kalachuri year 963 (1210-11A.C.), showing that the person who held it was an officer of a minor cadre.

We have an interesting passage in the *Tilakamañjarī*,¹ stating how forts were cared for in wartime by taking defensive measures. It tells us that ample corn was stored inside the fort and also that all care was taken to remove mud from the dried and decayed wells, including stepwells. Entrance of a stranger was prevented at the main street which was protected by troops of soldiers in charge of trustworthy military officers; stone balls to be hurled at the enemy were kept within approach, and the whole circuit was guarded by horsemen, and also that the various kinds of war-machines (*yantras*) were set near the rampart at the top. The description is no doubt poetic, but it enables us to form a general idea of the warfare of and the defensive measures adopted in those days.

The work of the Police Department appears to have been much related to that of military, and though we have no direct reference to it in our inscriptions, it appears to have been controlled by the Chief minister. In our records we find references to suppressing the seditious people, for example, in the Mau stone inscription, which states that Sallakshana, the Chief minister of Paramardin, set them right. Under this minister there were a number of officers known as *daṇḍapāśika* (one entrusted with the punishment of criminals), *talāra* (prefect of the city police), *balādhyaksha* (one in charge of military or city force), and *sva-gōptā*² (explained as protector of property). We have also a number of references to removing the fears of the subjects (*apāsyaprajānām bhayam*), to establishing peace by clearing (the country) of thorns (*kaṇṭaka-śōdhana*) and also to controlling wild tribes like those of bhillas, śābaras and pulindas, necessitating the existence of a large and efficient police force as required by the areas of the kingdoms of those days.

The *Śringāramañjarīkathā* (p. 62) mentions a *daṇḍapāśika* who must have been a police officer. The Muṅgthalā inscription of Dhāravarsha uses the word *bhaṭṭa-putra* in the sense of one who inflicted punishment, and, as already pointed out, it is used in the same sense in the *Lekhapaddhati* also.³

The police-system of a village was left to the villagers themselves, as we shall see below.

Judicial Department: The highest tribunal of justice was the ruler himself, who disposed off judicial cases with the help of experts under him. These experts, who were learned Brāhmaṇas, worked only in an advisory capacity and the final decision rested with the king himself. From contemporary and later records, however, we know that the king's Courts did not entertain cases directly.⁴ We know nothing about the Chief Justice and his subordinate officers, except two epigraphical instances, one of *Dharmādhikārin* (the department of *dharma*), which was in charge of Yaśōdhara under the Chandēlla ruler Dhāṅga, and the other under *Dharmādhikaraṇa Paṇḍita* Prabhākara mentioned in a Paramāra inscription.⁵ The first of these terms has been explained as 'court of law, and

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 70. Also see p. 149.

2 Respectively, in No. 16, 11. 27-28; No. 63, 1. 12 and No. 125, vv. 30 and 39. All the rest of the references are from the Mau stone inscription of the time of Maṇavarman.

3 See No. 71, 11. 9-10. Also see *I.E.G.*, p. 52 and *E.C.D.*, p. 206, n. 97.

4 See *R.T.T.*, p. 210. also see *E.C.D.*, p. 213, for not agreeing with this view.

5 No. 114, v. 56, and No. 30, 11. 6-7, respectively. In the first of these records, Yaśōdhara is mentioned as directing the administration of justice, following the principles of law enunciated in the texts.

the officer in charge of it as relating to civil and criminal courts as well as to religious and charitable endowments'.¹ This shows how both these departments were connected. It is not definitely known, though it appears probable, that the designation of *dharmalēkhin*, which we have already mentioned above, was also connected with this department.

Revenue Department: The few references that we have in our inscriptions do not enable us to have a systematic account of the functions of this department, though they enable us to know that the main sources of the state revenue were as shown below:-

1. Taxes on land;
2. Customs tax, trade tax, excise duties, road cess, ferry duties in the riverine areas, mines, salt-pits, etc.
3. Cesses for temples;
4. Fines imposed for offences;
5. Annual tribute from the feudatories (cf. *karādī-kṛita-bhūpālāḥ* in No. 125, v. 24);
6. Customary presents to the king and his officers;
7. Income from forests, pasture-lands, salt-pits, etc., which must have been a great source of income to the State.

Some of the terms are often found in our inscriptions. In a general way, they can only be mentioned here, without our comments, as they have already been explained. They are:- *bhāga* (land-tax, the king's share of produce, *bhōga* (royal dues, also mentioned as *rājābhāvyā*), *kara* (tax in general), *hiranya* (tax payable in cash) and *uparikara* (additional tax). The terms *nidhi* or *nidhāna* and *nikshēpa* are also mentioned in connection with our grants and they have been explained respectively as cess imposed upon agricultural lands and treasure trove.²

Resuming the main theme in hand, we find that customs and excise duties, along with some other taxes, appear to have been collected at the market pavilion (*maṇḍapika*) which is mentioned in some of our inscriptions. We also find an officer described as employed for keeping records and accounts of all that was spread in the market (*prasāra-vahikā-karaṇē-niyuktah*).³ This officer also appears to have collected taxes on articles imported or manufactured in the town (*bāhy-ābhyantar-ādāya*), mentioned in a number of our inscriptions.⁴

The Arthūpā inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja, dated V.S. 1136, mentions some of these taxes, along with some others, e.g., traders' tax, tax on gambling houses and traders' associations; and for details of these, reference is invited to our edition of the record.⁵ That ferry duties were also in vogue is known from the Sehore grant of Arjunavarman, dated in V.S. 1270.⁶ None of the other inscriptions edited here has a reference to it.

The king was the master of all marshy land, wood land and jungles, pasture-lands, mines and salt-pits, *madhūka* and mango groves, treasure trove and the like. All these

1 See *I.E.G.*, p. 92. The *T.M.* (p.12) mentions the designation *dharmasthēya*, probably in the same sense.

2 A reference to all the details about them is invited to some well-known books like the *Hindu Revenue System* by Ghoshal and D.C. Sircar's *Ind. Ep. Glossary*.

3 No. 86, v. 19.

4 For example, in No. 118, 117; No. 129, 124, etc.

5 No. 85, vv. 69 ff.

6 No. 49. The inscription is not transcribed line by line and hence the concerned line cannot be mentioned.

repeatedly find mention in our inscriptions,¹ but how dues from all these were collected is nowhere stated. This was the duty of some officers posted there.

Some of the contemporary literary sources afford interesting information on some of these points. For example, the *Nēminātha-charaṇi*,² a work in Prākṛit composed by Dāmōdara in V.S. 1287 in the reign of the Paramāra king Dēvapāla, mentions one *Jaina-chūḍāmaṇi* Nāgēndra as *āyanniyē*, under the same king and living at Nālachchhēdapura, i.e., Nālchhā in Dhār District. This term has been explained as a 'customs and excise officer'. The Kālvaṇ grant, which we have so often referred to above, casually mentions a *śaulkika*,³ explained as customs officer or officer in charge of collecting customs duties. The *Lēkhapaddhati* mentions *dāṇika* meaning collector of land-tax or customs duties.⁴

Treasury Officer: The Chief Treasury Officer in the kingdom of the Paramāras was known as *mahāmudrādhikārin* and in that of the Chandēllas as *kōśādhikārin*.⁵ Bhōjavarman's *kōśādhikārin* (poetically expressed as *kōśādhikārādhipati*) was Subhaja, the Chief Minister himself, who was a member of the king's assembly and also held the charge of *bhāṇḍāgārāpati*, i.e., one who looked after the royal provision or store-house (*bhāṇḍāri* of the present times), showing thereby how some of the officers were in charge of more than one portfolio. That this officer came from a high family is known from the Māndhātā inscription of Jayavarman, dated in V.S. 1331, which introduces his treasury officer Anayasimha with the title of *Rājūta*⁶ (*Rājaputra*), enjoyed by one of his ancestors. We do not know anything about the subordinates of this officer.

Being important, the post of treasury officer finds mention in some of the inscriptions of the other royal houses also. Thus we see that one Dhāmadēva was appointed to this post by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Ālhanasimha of the Ābū Paramāra branch,⁷ and the Gwālior inscription of the time of the Kachchhapaghāta king Mahipāla, dated V.S. 1161, mentions one Manōratha as the treasury officer of his grandfather, Bhuvanapāla.⁸ The same inscription also informs us that this officer ascertained (calculated), directed and checked the income and expenditure and also kept an account of the same. The Yajvapāla inscriptions use the terms *kōśādhikaksha* and *kōśādhika* to designate this officer.⁹

The *śrēṣṭhins*, whom we often find referred to in our inscriptions, functioned as bankers. They occupied high position. For example, Pāhilla, who belonged to the Grahapati family, was honoured by the Chandēlla king Dhāṅga himself.¹⁰ We have also an example of the two brothers, Rishi and Dāhaḍa by name, who were entitled as *śrēṣṭhins* approved by the Kachchhapaghāta king Vikramasimha himself.¹¹

1 For example, in No. 68, l. 21, we find that the cows of a sage were allowed to graze in a pasture-land by the Abu Paramāra king Dhāravarsha himself; and the donations of salt-pits, along with some other objects, is mentioned in No. 49, No. 107, ll. 12-13 (with iron); No. 115, l. 16; No. 151, l. 12; No. 155, v. 70 and in some others. A tax on *ulapikās* (and not *chōlapikās* in the sense of *chōlis* to be imported as taken by some for which see *P.B.F.*, p. 234) is mentioned in No. 82, l. 38. It is a tax levied on bundles of *ulapa*=grass brought from the royal grazing ground and to be used as fodder.

2 Reference from *Virasēvāmandira-Granthamālā*, Pushpa 14, by Paramānanda Śāstri (Delhi), 1963, p. 138.

3 No. 16, l. 27. The word *pravani*, which is used in No. 143, l. 14, also appears to convey the sense of customs duty, for which reference is invited to *n.* in the text. This tax also figures in the (Gāhaḍavāla) grants, for which, see *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 99; *ibid.*, V, pp. 113, 115, 117. Also see *H.K.*, p. 348.

4 See *E.C.D.*, p. 219.

5 No. 52, l. 7, and No. 150, vv. 28-30, respectively. The first of these terms sometimes also designated the Chief Minister who was in charge of the royal seal.

6 No. 60, v. 57.

7 No. 80, ll. 3-4.

8 No. 156, v. 12.

9 See No. 160, v. 16 and No. 161, v. 27.

10 No. 99, v. 1. Another Chandēlla record mentions one *Śrēṣṭhi* Dēdū of the same family. See No. 124, l. 1.

11 No. 154, v. 24.

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Akshapaṭalika: Another important government officer was *Akshapaṭalika*, who is mentioned only in the Charkhāri grant of Dēvavarman, dated V.S. 1108. This term has been taken in the sense of 'keeper of records', by some, and as 'keeper of accounts' by others.¹ As this term figures in only two of our records, it is not possible to ascertain the exact duties of this officer in our time. In both these records he is mentioned in connection with drafting the charter.²

Śrīkaraṇādhipa: This officer is mentioned in some one of our records, e.g., the Kālaṅjar stone inscription of the time of Kirtivarman. His office appears to have been that "of the Chief Secretary or one who wrote and issued all orders on behalf of his master and kept the State records".³

Mahāpratihāra: The high chamberlain was an influential person at the royal court. He was mainly in charge of informing the king about the visitors and he also regulated their entrance to the king's presence, as we find from a reference in the *Tilakamañjarī*.⁴ He was also a personal attendant of the king, sometimes representing the king himself, as we find from the instance of Gāṅgadēva, the chamberlain of the Paramāra king Jayavarman II, not only carrying on the royal order regarding making the donation but on rare occasions also doing all the duties of the king, e.g., bathing, etc., on his behalf.⁵ The high financial position of some of the chamberlains can be gauged from the instance of the *Mahāpratihāra* Saṅgrāmasimha who made some benefactions, according to the Kālaṅjar stone inscription of V.S. 1186, and also from that of the *pratihāras* Lākhanasimha and his brother Gōpasēna doing the same, as we are informed by the Bhūlā inscription.⁶ That he was a brave and learned person and that his position was indeed very high is known from the Mau stone inscription informing us that Gadādharma, the *pratihāri* of the Chandēlla king Jayavarman was promoted to the rank of the Chief minister by the king's younger brother Prithivivarman.⁷ It is not known if it was a rare example.

Rājaguru: In our epigraphic records we have occasional references to a person known as *Rājaguru* (royal preceptor). For example, the Kālaṅjar stone inscription, dated V.S. 1147, mentions Vāsudēva as the *guru* of the Chandēlla king Kirtivarman; and the emphatic tone of the former, viz., "hear him, O, this (my grant) is to be regularised by the *Śrīkaraṇādhipas*," goes to show the high influence he wielded in the royal Court.⁸ The name of the *Mahārāja-guru* is casually mentioned in an inscription from Khajurāhō, dated in V.S. 1011 and that of *bhaṭṭāraka Rājaguru* Vimalasīva we know from the Dhurēṭi plate dated in K.S. 967 or 1212 A.C..⁹ From the Paramāra inscriptions we may cite the instance of the *Rājaguru* Madana, who composed the *Pārijāta-mañjarī* in the reign of Arjunavarman. He was entitled *Bālasarasvatī*.¹⁰ Matvāka is mentioned as the royal preceptor of Dēvarāja of the Bhīmāl Paramāra branch (see No-91, ll. 19-20).

Purōhita: This term occasionally occurs in our inscriptions and also in the *Tilakamañjarī*, which states that the person who held this post was in charge of performing

1 See E.R.K., p. 158, and *Imperial Unity*, p. 243, respectively.

2 No. 108, l. 23; No. 198, l. 33. This officer is also mentioned in T.M., p. 84.

3 No. 110, v. 6, and No. 128, l. 9. Hēmādri was *Śrīkaraṇādhipa* of the Yādava ruler Mahādēva and the meaning of this term as taken here is the same as explained in E.H.D., p. 202.

4 P. 51. The passage is of great interest as it shows the order in which people were received in the royal Court. First entered the sages, and thereafter, in order, entered the learned persons, the Chief and the other ministers, followed by feudatories, nobles, kinsmen and friends.

5 No. 57, ll. 28 ff. The record is dated V.S. 1317.

6 No. 115 and No. 81, ll. 3 ff., respectively.

7 No. 125, vv. 40-41.

8 No. 110, vv. 4 and 6.

9 No. 143, l. 13.

10 See the section on literature that follows.

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religious rites in the palace.¹ Perhaps he also helped the *Rājaguru* who was presumably in charge of literary assemblies arranged in the palace from time to time. Yaśōdhara, the *purōhita* of Dhāṅga, was also his chief justice.²

The other Central officials mentioned in our inscriptions are *Panditas*, poets, writers, bards (*vaiṭālikas*)³ *kañchukin*⁴ and *dūta* or *dūtaka*⁵ who conveyed the ruler's sanction of a grant to local officials.⁶

Concluding this section, it has to be observed here that some of the officers and officials enumerated above are mentioned in the earlier of our inscriptions while others in later ones. They also differed from one to another kingdom. Some of them, particularly the ministers as we have seen above, were employed on the principle of heredity, whereas the others appear to have been promoted to high posts by merit. Some were, of course, directly recruited.

TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION

It has already been seen that two of the kingdoms, viz., the one of the Paramāras in the south and the other of the Chandēllas in the north, were fairly extensive and also that the rulers belonging to both these dynasties claimed imperial titles in their palmy days. Each of these houses had gradually developed an administrative system of its own, mostly based on that of its erstwhile imperial ruling house, viz., that of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the south and that of the Pratihāras of the north, respectively, and as a result of this, some of its characteristics were common to both, whereas others were bound to be peculiar to each other. Studying the administrative system of both these houses, we find that excluding those parts which were under the feudatory princes, for administrative purposes, each of these kingdoms was divided into various units and sub-units in descending order of size. And first of all we may notice the various terms denoting these divisions which were formed for the organisation of administration.

The largest administrative divisions under the Paramāras were known as *maṇḍalas*, whereas those under the Chandēllas as *vishayas*, either of these terms being almost equivalent to a district of the modern days. We also note that the term *vishaya* denoting the largest territorial division is found only in three of the earlier grants of the Paramāra kings,⁷ but it soon fell into disuse, giving its place to the term *maṇḍala*, which continued to the end of their reigning period, as will be known from the list given at the end in an *appendix*. Going through the same list, we note that some of the *maṇḍalas*, e.g., those of Avantī, Chachchhurōṇi, Mauḍi and Upēndrapura, were known after the villages or towns which appear to have been their headquarters, that of Hūṇa was known after the people, and the one known as Nilagiri, after a mountain. It also appears that the *Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala* contained not twelve villages in it, as is generally the case elsewhere, but twelve smaller units like *pathakas*, as the use of the word *mahat* in its beginning suggests. This suggestion is corroborated by the fact that one of the *pathakas* known as *Bhṛīṅgārī-chatusshashṭi*,⁸ which was a group of sixty-four villages, is, in its turn, said to have been included in this *maṇḍala*.

1 For example, in No. 39, l. 13; No. 114, v. 56; and No. 158, ll. 4-5. For *T.M.*, see p. 59.

2 See No. 114, v. 56. Also cf. *Mitāksharā* on *Yāj.* S. I, 312-13; 353, which assigns the status of a minister to a royal priest.

3 No. 155, v. 68.

4 No. 150, v. 10.

5 No. 39, l. 13; No. 57, l. 53; No. 68, l. 14; No. 158, ll. 4-5, etc.

6 See *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 100, n. 3, where it is stated that this officer was to carry not the actual charter itself but the king's sanction and order to the local officials.

7 See *appendix*.

8 No. 53, ll. 8-9.

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A *maṇḍala* was further divided into smaller units called *pathakas* or *pratiṣṭhāgarāṇakas*, which appear to have been the same as *parganās* or *tehsils* of the present day. The first of these terms appears only in five of our records, viz., the Gaonry grant (II) of Vākpatirāja, the Mahudī, Ujjain and Dēpālpur inscription of Bhōjadēva and in the Māndhātā inscription of Jayavarman II, dated in V.S. 1317.¹ Taking the last instance as a singular exception and considering the restricted use of the term *pathaka*, we are constrained to conclude that this nomenclature, which is found only in the earlier grants, continued for a short time and its place was later taken by the word *pratiṣṭhāgarāṇaka*, which, appearing for the first time in the Dēwās grant of Naravarman, dated V.S. 1152,² continued almost till the end of the Paramāra period.

That both these terms, viz., *pathaka* and *pratiṣṭhāgarāṇaka*, were synonymous of each other is also shown by the instance of the name Mahauḍa figuring as a *pratiṣṭhāgarāṇaka* in the Māndhātā grant of Dēvapāla, dated V.S. 1282 and as a *pathaka* in one issued from the same place by his son Jayavarman only thirty-five years later in V.S. 1317.³

The *pathakas* or *pratiṣṭhāgarāṇakas* were further split up into smaller groups, each named after its chief village.⁴ It also appears possible, as shown by some of our records, that occasionally the extent of some of these groups may have been the same as of the *pathakas* or *pratiṣṭhāgarāṇakas*. Each of these groups shows the number of villages included in it. From a study of the groups of villages given in the *appendix*, we also know that whereas the smallest group included only twelve villages, as found in the case of Tīṇisapādra and Vikhilapādra, the largest, viz., Mukṭāpalli, comprised as many as eighty-four villages.⁵

The epigraphic records of the Paramāras occasionally mention still another territorial division known as *bhukti*. It is connected with the word *bhōga* and was designed to indicate the territory which was meant for the enjoyment of a governor under whose charge it was placed, or of some other person entrusted with some other duty. The term *bhōga*, as already noted by V.V. Mirashi, comes from Mahārāshṭra,⁶ and its use was naturally limited to Mālwa, which was its neighbouring province. It must be remarked here, however, that it was not a regular territorial and administrative unit; and we have no clear indication of its definite extent; some of the *bhōgas* may have been bigger while others smaller.

Here it may be of interest to note that of all the records of the Paramāras we have only one inscription, viz., the Gaonry grant of Vākpatirāja, issued in V.S. 1043, which mentions all the administrative divisions in the descending order. While naming the village Kaḍahichchhaka, it says that it was included in the Madhuka-*bhukti* which was connected with the *Pūrva-pathaka*, included in the Ujjayini *vishaya*, which, in its turn, was included in the Avanti-*maṇḍala*.⁷

SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE CHANDĒLLA KINGDOM

Coming to study the territorial divisions of the kingdom of the Chandēllas, we do not find it divided into as many administrative units as those of the Paramāras. With

1 No. 7, l. 9; No. 9, ll. 5-6; No. 12, ll. 6-7; No. 13, l. 6 and No. 57, l. 23, respectively.

2 No. 30, l. 6.

3 No. 51, l. 17 and No. 57, l. 23 respectively.

4 We have a singular instance viz., that of Vōdasirā, to show that occasionally not only one but also two villages were combined to indicate the name of a group. See my remarks on the location of this name in the respective inscription.

5 See the *appx.* at the end of this section.

6 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. cxxiv. Also see the words *bhukti* and *bhōga* in *I.E.G.* As often noted, this term was used to denote the entire Chandēlla kingdom, and at times it denoted a district in it.

7 No. 7, ll. 9-10.

reference to it, we have only two divisions; one of them was known as *vishaya*, which was sometimes called *pattalā*, as we shall presently see, and the other as groups of villages. They are all enlisted in the *appendix* that follows. We have no means to ascertain the boundaries of these divisions, but we may take it for granted that some of them may have been large whereas the others small.

One of the *vishayas* of the Chandēlla kingdom is mentioned as *Navarāshtra-maṇḍala-vishaya*.¹ In this connection it appears to me that the word *maṇḍala* should be taken only in its general sense of territory, and the whole expression, as meaning a *vishaya* comprising the whole territory of Navarāshtra. In one of the Chandēlla grants it is also mentioned as a *pattalā* in the Prakrit form of this word (as Navarajha);² and the fact that two of the other divisions, viz., Ērachha and Nandāvāṇa, are mentioned both as *vishayas* and *pattalās*³ goes to show that both these terms were almost identical. It may also be noted here that the use of the term *pattalā* is found only in two of the records, one of which is private.⁴

In our study of the village-groups in the Chandēlla kingdom, we note that out of the seven groups mentioned in our inscriptions, three consisted of five villages each, three of twelve each and one of eighteen villages.

Besides *vishaya*, we have another territorial unit known as *avasthā* which is mentioned only in the Nanyaurā grant of Dēvarman. We have no means to ascertain the definite significance of this term.

The administration of the *maṇḍalas* under the Paramāras and of the *vishayas* under the Chandēllas seems plainly to have been carried on by officers known as *maṇḍalādhiśas* or *maṇḍalēśvaras* and *vishayapatis*, corresponding to the modern Collectors or Deputy Commissioners. These officers were usually appointed on the basis of ability or distinguished military service⁵ or both. We have no instance to show that these posts were filled in on the principles of heredity, excluding, of course, a few instances of the persons belonging to the royal family, as we shall presently see. These officers had their own subordinates to help them in their work, though our records do not furnish details in this respect. The officers in charge of the districts worked under the direction of those in the Central government, as we know from their designation without the prefix *mahat*, e.g., in *Sādhanika* and *Mahāsādhanika*, etc., though the possibility that both these officers may have been at the centre itself cannot altogether be precluded.

Some of these units appear to have been governed by military leaders whose duty in those days of frequent warfare and unsettled conditions of the period was to safeguard the frontiers and the highways passing through their territory and also to put down the internal local disturbances. Some others were placed under the *mahattakas* like Malayasimha, who appears to have been in charge of the Dhanavāhi-*pattalā*, as we are informed by the Dhurēṭi plates.⁶ The outposts of the kingdoms, which were of special significance, were in charge of the king's sons and near relatives. The Chandēlla king Yaśovarman's younger son Kṛishṇapa was posted at Dudāhi, and as we have already seen while dealing with the political history of the Paramāras of Mālava, Udayāditya seems to have entrusted the government of parts of the eastern and the western divisions of his kingdom, respectively, to his sons Lakshmadēva and Naravarman. To these we may add the instances of

1 No. 108, 1, 14.

2 No. 119, 1, 21.

3 See the *appx.*

4 Nos. 119 and 143. The latter is a private record. Sometimes *pattalā* is mentioned as a division of *pathaka*. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 113.

5 As we know from the instance of Vighraha, the brother-in-law of Pūrṇapāla, the Paramāra king of Ābū. In No. 62, v. 12, he is described as *eva-saurya-vīry-ārjita-bhūpa-sabdhah*.

6 No. 143, 1, 8.

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Prahlādāna, the younger brother and heir-apparent of Dhārāvārsha, and also of the *rājaputras* or *rāūttas* who often appear in our inscriptions.¹

FEUDAL PROPRIETORS

Parts of the State territories were held by feudatories, known variously as *Bhōktas*, *Rāṇakas* (*Rājānakas*), *Thakkuras* and *Rājaputras* (*Rāwals*). They were like the *jāgirdārs* of the present day. They made suitable arrangements for administering their territories, subject to the control of the Central government. They also established peace and order in the villages under their jurisdiction, participated in the battles of their overlords² and paid a fixed sum, as we find also in the other contemporary kingdoms. A list of *bhuktis* is appended in the end. Here it may also be noted that the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa were feudatories of the main branch and those of Ābū were subject to the rule of the Chaulūkyas of Gujārāt.

TOWN AND VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

In towns and villages administration was carried on by the *pañchakulas* or a committee of five, the details of which we find in Sōmadēva's *Nītivākyāmrīta*.³ *Mahāpañchakulika*, or *Mahattama*, was perhaps the head of all of them, as he often figures among those to whom royal grants were communicated.⁴ These members appear to have been elected at regular intervals, as we know from the expression "*etad-varsha-vārika*" appearing in one of the inscriptions from the Bhinmāl area.⁵ In addition to those elected, there were some who were nominated by the king.⁶

The *pañchakulas* had their own staff. As already noted, the Dhurēṭi plates mention a *pañchakula-dharmādhi-karaṇa*, which was probably the Judicial department managed by a *pañchakula*.⁷ The system appears to have been almost the same under the Paramāras also. The *paṭṭakila* and the *grāmākūṭa* are also mentioned in some of our records. The first of these officials was in charge of collecting taxes on land. The *saukika*, who collected customs duties, also figures in some of the records; and village customs officer, village accountant and a city *kōṭwāl* are mentioned in some of the inscriptions from the records of the Junior Paramāras.⁸

The *pañchakulas*, who appear to hold their office in some prominent place in the town or village,⁹ probably also looked after the sanitary arrangement and safety of the place and exercised general control over it. No powers of taxations, however, was delegated to these bodies. We do not know if a suitable *pañchāyat* law existed for their guidance, as we find in modern times.

1 See No. 39, l. 13, No. 56, l. 42 and No. 60, v. 57. The second of these words is the Prakrit form of the first.

2 As we know, for example, from the instance of Kaṅka of the Vāgaḍa house, who died fighting a battle of his overlord Styaka against the Rāshtrakūṭa Khōṭṭiga.

3 No. 80, l. 5. *Nītivākyāmrīta*, XVIII, 49. For the details, see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. cxliv, n. 15.

4 For example, in No. 107, l. 8.

5 No. 92, l. 5.

6 See No. 73, v. 4, where Nāgaṭa, who is here called a *sachiva*, himself says that he was appointed by the king.

7 See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. cxiv.

8 In No. 85, l. 18 which mentions *-prasāra-vahikā-karaṇa*. An accountant figures in the Dhurēṭi plates also. See No. 143, l. 9. *Talāra* (probably a city *Kōṭwāl*) is mentioned in No. 64, l. 12, and No. 65, l. 10, both of which do not help us in ascertaining its exact meaning. For the different interpretations of this word, see *I.E.G.* and also *E.C.D.*, p. 205 and n.; *C.G.*, p. 235.

9 See No. 84, v. 54 we learn that a *vārika* was allowed to stay in a temple, along with some other persons.

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An alphabetical list of towns and villages mentioned in our records is given at the end of this section. A few remarks, however, may be made here. The names of towns and big villages generally ended in *pura*, *nagara*, *pattana*, *padra*, *padraka*, *pāṭaka*, and of some others in *khēṭaka*, *pallī*, *pallikā* and such other suffixes according to their size, as we find in Vaṭanagara, Vaṭapura, Sarasvatipattana, Dādarapadra, Kadambapadraka, Mōkhalapāṭaka, Pāmsulakhēṭaka, Pāshānapalli and Phulahali, etc., references to which can be seen in the list given below. Some of these names also end in *hrada* or *daha*, e.g., Nāgahrada or Nāgadaha and Kāyadraha. To some of these names, as to those of Dhārā, Ujjayini, Māṇḍū, Kharjūravāhaka and Vilāsapura, we find the prefix *śrī* or *śrīmat* attached to them.¹

To make some more remarks, we find that some of these towns and villages were named after kings and some other members of the royal families, for example, Udayapura and Dēvapālapura after the Paramāra kings of these names and Madanapura and Hamirapura after the Chandēlla rulers. All these places are known today exactly in the same form, or with slight changes. A number of them, which were of strategic importance, were fortified, as known from the word *durga* mentioned at the end of their names, e.g., Kōshavardhana, Maṇḍapa- Māndhātri-, Navasara-, Kirti- and Jaya- or Jayapura-, all ending in *durga*. Some were well known after the holy places, e.g., Arbuda-, Kōṭi- and Piśāchadēva- all of which end in *tīrtha*. And besides them all, there were *agrahāra*, that is, donated to Brāhmaṇas as rent-free villages and generally ending in *-brahmapurī*, *-bhaṭṭagrāma* and the like. References to all these will be found in the list given at the end.²

1 See, e.g., No. 9, 1.7; No. 7, 1.9; No. 57, 1.24; No. 114, 1.32; and No. 129, 1.13, respectively.

2 It is interesting to note that Wassāf, who completed his work in 1328 A.C., says that at that time Mālwa contained 1, 893,000 towns and villages. See Elliot, Vol. III, p. 31. Of the other regions we have no information.

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APPENDIX I

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND SUB-DIVISIONS MENTIONED IN INSCRIPTIONS

A. PARAMĀRA INSCRIPTIONS

(a) Maṇḍalas (arranged alphabetically)

Note:—The first figure in the brackets gives the number of the inscription and the second that of the line.

1. **Avanti** (7,9) : Here it denotes not a district but the kingdom, since Ujjayini is mentioned as a district (*vishaya*) in it.
2. **Chachchurōṇi** (23,6) : Comprising the territory round about the modern Chāchurni, also spelt as Chachōṇi, on the confluence of the Nēwaj and Parwān in the Jhalāwād District of Rājasthān.
3. **Hūṇa** (6,7) : Around the northern part of the present Mandsaur District in Madhya Pradesh.
4. **Khēṭaka** (1-2,9) : Roughly equivalent to Kairā in Gujarāt; mentioned only as a territory (of a *mahāmaṇḍalādhipa*) and not a regular division as district.
5. **Mahādvaḍasaka** (40,5 and 44,7) : comprising parts of the modern districts of Vidishā and Bhōpāl.
6. **Mauḍi** (56,44) : Around Mōḍi, a village in the Mandsaur District and now submerged in the Chambal dam.
7. **Mōhadavāsaka** (8,6) : Part of Sābarkāṇṭhā District near Ahmedābād in Gujarāt; here it appears to denote a territorial division rather than a regular *maṇḍala*, as others.¹
8. **Nilagiri** (45,9) : Comprising parts of the Hoshangābād District, close to the reserved forest known by the same name.
9. **Pūrṇapathaka** (18,6) : The territory near the island of Māndhātā on the Narmadā.
10. **Samgamakhēṭaka**² (15,7) : The region around Sāṅkhēḍā in the former Baroda State territory. It is different from Khēṭaka mentioned above (No. 4).
11. **Sthali** (118) : Roughly corresponding to the Vāgaḍa region or Bāṅswaḍa-Dūngarpur tract.
12. **Uparihāḍa** (54,3) : The region around Rāhatgaḍh in Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh.
13. **Upēndrapura** (34,5) : Probably corresponding to the eastern part of the modern Ujjain District (?). It appears to have been named after Upēndra, the earliest known king of the royal Paramāra house.
14. **Vindhya** (46,8) : Probably the eastern part of the modern Dēwās District in Madhya Pradesh (?). Named after the mountain.
15. **Vyāpura** (33,39) : Its definite location is not known, but it appears to have included some of the eastern portion of the Paramāra empire.³

¹ Here the reading is *Mōhadavāsak-ārdhāṣṭama-maṇḍalē*, which, according to D.C. Sircar, means the subdivision of 7½ villages in the district, whereas according to Shāstri, who edited the inscription first, the district comprised 750 villages. This region is now included in Gujarāt, but it is interesting to note that Hieun-Tsang locates Mālwa in the valley of the river Mo-ha, i.e. the Māhī in Gujarāt, and he further says that Khēṭa (Mod. Kairā) and Ānandapura (mod. Vadnagar, which is mentioned in our inscriptions Nos. 1-2), formed parts of Mālwa. See D.C. Sircar's *Geog. of Anc. and Med. India*, 1971, p. 207.

² We may note that this was called a *vishaya* in 641-42 A.C. See *C.I.L.*, Vol. IV, No. 19, 11. 9-10. It is different from Khēṭaka mentioned above.

³ To this list we may add some others which are of doubtful nature, viz. *Ardhāṣṭama* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 197). *Maru* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXV, p. 136) and *Sihārā* (*I.H.Q.*, 1961, p. 163, 1. 2).

INTRODUCTION

(b) Vishayas

Āudrahādi (16,9)
Mōhadavāsaka¹ (1,12; 2,13)
Ujjayini (7,9).

(c) Pratijāgarāṇakas

Amaṣṭāpadra (45, 9-10)	Bhagavatpura (30,6)
Madhumati (198, 12)	Mahuṣṭā (51,17)
Mandāraka (34,5)	Nāgadaha (60,89)
Narmadāpura (46,9)	Pagārā (49)
Śakapura (47)	Saptāśiti ² (60,88)
Vardhamānapura (60,88)	

(d) Pathakas

Bhūmigriha-paśchima - (9, 5-6)	Dakṣiṇa - (198, 12)
Mahuṣṭā (57,23)	Nāgharada-paśchima- (12, 6-7)
Pūrva - (198, 8 and 10)	Pūrva - (7, 9)
Ujjayini-paśchima- (13,6)	

(e) Bhuktis

Āvaraka (6, 7)	Gardhabhapaniya (4, 9)
Iṅgaṇapadra (30, 6)	Maddhuka (7, 9)
Madhumati (198, 11)	Pāṇḍi (198, 11)
Rājāśayana (40, 5)	Vyāghradōra (11, 8)

(f) Groups of villages

Bhrīṅgōri-64 (53, 8)	Madhumati - 700 (198, 11)
Maktulā-42 (18, 6-7)	Muktāpalli-84 (16, 8) ³
Nyāyapadra-17 (10, 5)	Pāṇḍi -350 (198, 11)
Sāibari-16 (48, 1) ⁴	Tiṇisapadra-12 (5, 9)
Vaṭahēṭaka-36 (38, 8)	Vikhilapadra-12 (44, 7)
Vōḍasirā-48 (46, 9) ⁵	

Each of these groups mentions the name of the principal village of the unit in which it was situated, and following it, the number of the other villages included in it for administrative purposes. That this unit was almost identical with a *pathaka* is known from the mention of Bhrīṅgārikā (Bhrīṅgōri of the list) as a *pathaka* and a part of the *Mahadvādaśaka-maṇḍala* in an inscription from Udaipur (Vidishā Dist.) dated 1173 A.C., which also shows that this *maṇḍala* consisted of 12 such units (*pathakas* or groups of villages).

1. This is also mentioned as a *maṇḍala*. See n. 1, above.

2. The principal town of this is not mentioned.

3. The reading of the next conveys the sense that Āudrahādi was a *vishaya*, with Muktāpalli as its chief town.

4. Here the reading is *Sāibarisōṭ*, the precise meaning of which is not known to me. The reading of Wilkinson from which I give the text, is also doubtful. Ganguli interprets the expression as probably a group of sixteen villages called *Sāvairi* (H.P.D., p. 201), but to me it appears doubtful to take *sōṭ* to mean sixteen here, though I am unable to offer a proper explanation of the expression.

5. This appears to have been a composite name forming an administrative unit, for which see location of the name in the respective inscription.

INTRODUCTION

B. CHANDELLA INSCRIPTIONS

(a) Vishayas (arranged alphabetically)

1. **Dāhi** (144,8) : Around Bijāwar, a *tehsil* in the modern Chhatarpur District of Madhya Pradesh.
2. **Dudhāi** (126,8) : modern Dudhāhi in the Lalitpur subdivision of the Jhānsi District. Also mentioned as Duḍuhī in No. 119, l. 6.
3. **Erachha** (130,8) : The region around Erich on the Bētawā and *cir.* 100 kms. north west of Mahōbā.
4. **Karigavā** (131,5) : Round about Pachhār in Jhānsi Dist.
5. **Kirāyīḍa** (132,5) : Around Kirāḍi, about 12 kms. from Mahōbā.¹
6. **Mahishinēha** (119,9) : Unidentified.
7. **Nandāvaṇa** (129,8) : A part of Bāndā Dist.
8. **Navarāshṭra** (108,14) : Mentioned also as a *maṇḍala*. Its precise location is not known, but as it is stated to have been situated on the Yamunā, it may be somewhere in the Bāndā, Hamirpur or Allahābād District.²
9. **Paṇiuli** (141,7) : Around Pannā, the chief town of a district in Madhya Pradesh.
10. **Pāṣuṇi** (138,6) : The valley of the Paisani river flowing in the eastern part of the Bāndā District and joining the Yamunā.
11. **Pitaśaila** (112, v. 4) : Around Baldēobāgh *tehsil* of the former Orchhā State, now in Madhya Pradesh.
12. **Suḍālī** (118,6) : Near about Vidishā.
13. **Vaḍavāri** (126,8; 142,7) : Part of Sāgar District, as it is also mentioned in 140, 1, as Vaḍavāra.
14. **Vāraṅgi** (200,6) : A part of Tikamgaḍh District.
15. **Vēḍesaitha** (151,9) : Unidentified.
16. **Vikaura** (126,7) : A part of Sāgar District.
17. **Vikrauṇi** (141, (ii), 7) : Probably identical with Vikaura which is mentioned above.

(b) Pattalās

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Dhanavāhi (143,10) | 2. Erachchha (119,22) |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|

¹ It is rather curious to see that a separate district then existed so near to Mahōbā which was the capital town.

² Also mentioned as *Navarāṣṭha-pattalā*.

INTRODUCTION

Kōlavā (119, 20, 28)	Mahishiṇēha (119, 21)
Nandāvaṇa (119, 23)	Navaraṭha (119, 21)
Tintiri (119, 20, 24 and 27)	Vāndiūri (119, 21)

(c) Groups of villages

Hāṭa	Isahara-5 (126, 8)
Itāva-5 (126, 8)	Khaṭauḍā-12 (126, 7)
Kshatapada-12 (126, 7) ¹	Pilikhiṇi-5 (126, 8)
Tāṇṭa-12 (126, 7) ²	Vārangi-84 (200, 6)

APPENDIX II

TOWNS AND VILLAGES MENTIONED IN INSCRIPTIONS

Note:- This list excludes those places which have already been included in any of the subdivisions mentioned above in *Appx. I* and also the original places of the donees which were outside the jurisdiction of the respective kingdoms. It, however, includes those which are mentioned in our inscriptions as forts, *ūrthas*, *kshētras* and the like, apparently with the consideration that a settlement existed at the place. For further details about them, reference is invited to the respective inscriptions mentioning them. The first of the numbers that follows each of the names is that of the inscription and the second, that of the line.

Inscriptions of the Imperial Paramāra Dynasty

Amarēśvara-kshētra (57, 29)	Ānandapura (1, 19)
Ānōha-bhaṭṭagrāma (6, 32-33)	Avivā (6, 20)
Bhāillasvāmidēvapura (58, 3) ³	Bhāillasvānipura (60, 63)
Bhima (18, 7)	Bhōjanagara (180, 51)
Chandrapuri (39, 9)	Chikhillikā (4, 12)
Chirihilla (22, 4)	Chitaliyā (188, 6)
Dādarapadra (44, 7)	Dapura (6, 36)
Dēvalapāṭaka (38, 1)	Dēvapālapura (60, 80)

-
1. Here the reading is *kshatapad-āṣṭaka-madhye*, which, as already suggested by D.C. Sircar, should better be read as *-āṣṭakānām madhye*. By some, who read the *cha* before this expression as *va*, the name is taken as *Vakshattapada*, for which see *E.R.K.*, p. 217, No. 20; but *vakshata* gives no meaning.
 2. The reading here is *Rālha-satka-Taṇṭā-dyādāṣaka*, and the word *satka* requires to be taken in the sense of 'connected with', as we also find in No. 107, 11, 7-8.
 3. Cf. *Bhāillasvāmi-samip-āvāsē* in No. 118, 10.

INTRODUCTION

Dhārā (in several inscriptions) ¹	Dhawali (21, 2)
Dōṅgaragrāma (28, 6)	Dugāryi (9, 6)
Dvōrmēla (58, 7) ²	Gharātauda (56, 46)
Ghōshakūpik (22, 5)	Guṇapura (45, 26)
Guṇaūrā (46, 9) ³	Guvāsā (56, 35)
Harshapura (8, 11)	Harshapura (43, 1) ⁴
Harshapura (50, 13)	Hathāvāḍa (16, 18)
Hathināvara (49) ⁵	Hathivāhā (186, 6)
Kaḍahichchhaka (7,9)	Kadambapadraka (34, 6)
Karpāsikā (23, 9)	Kharjūrikā (6, 35)
Kirikaikā (13, 6)	Kōśavardhana- <i>durga</i> (23, 7 and 15)
Kumbhādāūda (60, 88)	Kumbhārōṭaka (1, 12-13)
Laghu-Vaiṅgaṇapadraka (38, 3)	Lashanapura (60, 102)
Mahirāutā (56, 52)	Mhishav(b)uddhikā (16, 12)
Māhishmatī (51, 19)	Mahudahā (198, 28)
Mālāpuraka (30, 7)	Maṇḍapa- <i>durga</i> (57, 24, 60, 83, 85 and 90)
Māndhātṛa- <i>dhātṛidhara</i> (60, 13)	Māndhātṛi- <i>durga</i> (60, 86)
Māyamōḍaka (39, 8)	Mhaisaḍā (55, 4)
Mōkhalapāṭaka (33, 40)	Nāla- <i>taḍga</i> (10, 6) ⁶
Nāṭiyā (60, 89)	Palasavāḍa (45, 10) ⁷
Paṁviṭha (55, 2) ⁸	Paṭasvāḍā (45, 23)
Piḍiviḍi (47)	Pipparikā- <i>taḍra</i> (4, 9) ⁹
Piśachadēva- <i>ūṛtha</i> (4, 13)	Rāḍaghaikā (21, 5)
Rājakiyagrāma (6, 37)	Rālāgrāma (41, 14)

1 This name figures in several inscriptions of the Paramāras.

2 It is conjecturally taken as a village. See *n.* in the text of the inscription.

3 Probably the local form of Guṇapura.

4 This is separate than the other bearing the same name. Here it is mentioned as *Harsha-pūrvāt purāt*.

5 The number of the line is not known as the plates are missing and the text was not given line by line.

6 The mention of a *taḍga* shows that some habitation may have existed in the neighbourhood.

7 Differently read in the same inscription as *Paṭasavāḍā* and *Savāḍā* in different lines. As the plates are missing, we have no means to ascertain the reading.

8 The reading is *Paṁviṭha-pratipattau* and we have no means to ascertain whether it is the name of a village or during the administration of Paṁviṭha or Paṇḍita Viṭha, taking *Paṁ* as an alternation of *Paṇḍita* (Paṇḍita).

9 The meaning of *taḍra* is not known to me. The reading of the last letter is definitely *ra*.

INTRODUCTION

Śāibarisölē (48) ¹	Śakapura (60, 81)
Sammati (15, 10) ²	Savādā (45, 28)
Savādā (45, 28) ³	Śayanapāṭa (8, 8 and 9)
Sihakā (2, 13)	Sōpura (6, 34)
Śravaṇabhadra (6, 28)	Suvarṇaprāsādikā (40, 5)
Suvāsani (40, 5)	Thikarikā (38, 2)
Thikkarikā (38, 3) ⁴	Udayapura (18, 1, 2)
Undapura (50, 8)	Uttarayanō (45) ⁵
Vaḍauda (57, 23) (40, 5) ⁶	Vaḍōvya-pattana (59, 2)
Valauda (60, 88)	Vaghāḍi (60, 89)
Vakaaigala (16, 21)	Vaṇikā (6, 8)
Vardhainānapura (39, 3)	Vaṭakhēṭaka (39, 8)
Vaṭapadraka (11, 8)	Vilapadraka (23, 8)
Viluhaja (15, 13)	Virāṇaka (12, 7)
Vṛivāsaka (22, 5)	

Inscriptions of the Junior Paramāra Branches

Ājāhari (64, 4)	Badari (62, 9) ⁷
Bābhaṇavāḍa (72, 1-2)	Bhōgyapura (84, 33)
Bhuṇḍipadra (63, 1)	Brahmāṇa (189, 2)
Būḍāpaṭa (186, 6)	Chandrāvati (71, 1-2; 73, 1; 81, 2; and 82, 15 and 38)
Chhanāri (82, 36)	Chitaliyā (188, 6)
Chitrakūṭa (94, 20)	Dēulapāṭaka (84, 33)
Dhāṇatā (77, 2)	Dundubhi (73, 2) ⁸
Grivaḍi (82, 7 and 22)	

1 It cannot be ascertained whether it is the name of a village or a territorial division. The reading is *Śāibari-sōlē-sambaddha*, which, as already stated above, D.C. Ganguli takes to mean "connected with *Śāibari-16*", See *H.P.D.*, p. 201.

2 The reading appears to be doubtful, and as the plates are missing, it cannot be verified.

3 See *n.* 7 above.

4 This and the preceding are the same with different spellings in the same record.

5 See *n.* 2 above.

6 This is different from the following village as the locations of both are different.

7 The reading here is *Vaṇsārathē yō Badarīm śatāsa*, and it suggests the meaning that *Vaṇsārathā* was the territorial unit with *Badari* as its capital town.

8 The reading is not certain; it may also be *Undubhi*.

INTRODUCTION

Hāthadali (68, 21)	Hāthikapāvā (186, 4-5)
Kālhanavāḍa (82, 37)	Khalaghaṭṭa (84, 22)
Kirātakūpa (94, 20)	Kumbhāranuli (68, 12)
Maḍāuli (82, 38)	Māgavāḍi (68, 21)
Maṇḍaladraha (84, 33)	Maṇḍāvāḍa (81, 6)
Naṭṭapāṭaka (84, 33)	Navasara- <i>durga</i> (94, 23)
Pāmsulākhēṭaka (84, 27 and 31)	Panāchhi (84, 33)
Pāṭi (187, 9)	Phaliṇi (71, 3)
Philiṇi (71, 5) ¹	Phulahali (67, 8)
Rōhēḍā (82, 33)	Rōhēṭaka (81, 5) ²
Rudrāvanti (187, 9)	Sāhilavāḍa (68, 11)
Savāḍaviddha (74, 3) ³	Sindhurājapura (94, 18)
Śivakūpa (94, 20);	Śrīmāla (91, 3 and 95, 5)
Talapāṭaka- <i>pattana</i> (90, 3)	Tanukōṭṭa- <i>durga</i> (94, 23)
Utthūṇaka (90, 23) ⁴	Vamśaraṭha (62, 9) ⁵
Vāsaṇa (67, 13)	Vasishṭhāśrama (71, 2)
Vaṭa (62, 9) ⁶	Vaṭanagara (62, 13)
Vaṭapura (62, 15)	

Inscriptions of the Chandēlla Dynasty

Ajaya-sāgara	Alaurā (143, 14)
Ānandapura (133, 4)	Astāvala (119, 22)
Bamharaḍā (118, 6)	Bāṇapura (133, 1)
Bhūtapallikā (108, 14)	Chachōḍā (134, 6)

1 It is the same as the preceding one.

2 The same as the preceding one.

3 That is *Sāvāḍa pudruka*.

4 Cf. *Utthapanaka* in No. 85, v. 73.

5 See n. 7 above.

6 Mentioned in plural as *Vaṭeṣhu* showing it to be a region with the suffix *pura* or *nagara* when intended to show its capital.

7 Evidently from Ajayapura, which is on all occasions mentioned as Jayapura. See *Jayapura-durga*, below.

INTRODUCTION

Chulli (100, 10) ¹	Dādari (119, 21)
Daviha (119, 23) ²	Dēddu (125, 27)
Dēnavāḍa (119, 21)	Dhanaura (130, 8)
Dhōvahaṭṭa-pattana (143, 10)	Dugauḍā (112, 3; 150, 4)
Gahilū (130, 15)	Gōkula (126, 8) ³
Gōulā (119, 21), or Gōḍala?	Hathidāhā (126, 8)
Isarahara (126, 8)	Isauni (200, 6)
Iṭalā (138, 6)	Iṭāva (126, 8)
Jalhuā (126, 11)	Jayapura-durga (121, 2; 128, ⁴ 2; 137, 2; and 149, 17 and 20; 192, 1; 193, 1; 194, 2; 195, 1)
Kādōha (141, 7)	Kakaḍadaha (141, 10-11)
Kakaradaha (126, 8)	Kālānjara (110, 5, & 127, ⁵ 1; 194, 2)
Kaṭahau (107, 7)	Kēṇḍi (125, 28)
Kharjūravāhaka (114, 32-33)	Khaṭauḍā (126, 11)
Kōṛṭiā (128, 5)	Kōṭiā (121, 4) ⁶
Kōṭitirtha (108, 15)	Madanapura (126, 12)
Madanapura-Pattana (126, 11)	Madanēśasāgarapura (133, 4)
Mahuāli (119, 28)	Maṇḍāura (142, 7)
Maṇḍilapura (122, 1) ⁷	Nandiṇi (129, 8-9)
Nāndipura (145, 14)	Parēyi (119, 14)
Pilikhiṇi (126, 8)	Pipalahā (119, 20 and 27)
Pipalāhika (112, 7)	Pipalāhikā (150, 5)
Raṇamauā (1077)	Sagaḍḍo (132, 6)
Sarikaliā (121, 12)	Sēsaiyi (126, 7-8) ⁸
Sihadōṇi (142, 7)	Sōnasara (126, 12)
Sōndhi (144, 14)	Suhavāsa (107, 7)

1 The consonant of the first letter of this name may also be read as *V*.

2 May also be read as *Dāvēha*.

3 We have no means to ascertain whether it is a name or is used for grazing ground of a village.

4 Also mentioned as *Jayadurga* in No. 149117.

5 It figures in several other records also.

6 Evidently the same as *Kōṛṭiā*, mentioned above.

7 Kielhorn read this name as *Mahilapura*.

8 It is also mentioned as a *vishaya*, for which see the list of *vishayas* in appx. I.

INTRODUCTION

Tumuṭumā (144,8)	Uladana (126,8)
Vaḍavāḍa (141,9)	Valahauḍā (119,9 and 22)
Vasauhā (119,20) ¹	Vasuhāṭikā (133,2)
Vilāsapura (129,12 & 132,8) ²	Vrāhmaṇi (152,5)

Inscriptions of the Kachchhapaghātas

Babāḍa (157) ³	Ḍōbha (154,31) ⁴
Gōpa (155,4 and 14) ⁵	Gōpālikēra (156,2)
Jāyasapū (154,32)	Mahāchakra (154,56)
Pāshāṇapalli (155,32)	Rajakadraha (154,56)
Sīmhapāniya (155,6)	

Inscription of the Ignōḍā Royal House

Āgāsiyaka (158,7)

Inscriptions of the Yajvapālas

Gōpa (160, 9; 161, 17; 175, 25; and 179, 7) ⁶	
Nalagiri (175, 6)	Kirtidurga (179, 6)
Nalapura (159, 10; 161, 3; 164, 1; 165, 2; 166, 2; 167, 6; 169, 3; 170, 2; 172, 1 and 4; 174, 2; and 179,2.)	
Palāsavāha (159, 22)	Ratnagiri (175, 4) ⁷
Sarasvatī-pattana (176, 5)	Sēsai (177, 6) ⁸
Vaṭapadra (161, 22)	

1 The consonant of the first letter of this name may also be read as *Cha*. If so, the name may be taken as Chasauhā, or Sauhā, taking *Cha* separately.

2 This name figures with the prefix *sallakshana* in No. 134, 1. 8.

3 As read by Hall. As the original plate is not now forthcoming, the reading cannot be checked. The number of lines in cannot be given as transcript of Hall is not line by line.

4 For the reading and interpretation, see *n.* on the text.

5 In all cases it is mentioned as a mountain.

6 As above.

7 Whether it was inside the jurisdiction of the royal house or not is doubtful. See my remarks in the edition of the inscription.

8 This name also figures in a Chandēlla inscription, for which see above p. 159 and the *n.* 8.

RELIGION

Considering the state of religion in the period represented by our inscriptions, we first of all note that Buddhism, which had flourished during the previous centuries, had almost disappeared throughout the extensive region of Madhya Pradesh. None of our inscriptions registers an endowment to a Buddhist shrine or monastery. We have no doubt some stray examples both from Bundelkhand and Mālwa: one of them is the Charkhāri grant of the Chandēlla king Paramardin, issued in V. 1256, which informs us that five *halas* of land belonging to a Buddhist shrine were excluded while registering the grants to several Brāhmaṇas;¹ but this goes to indicate only the spirit of toleration on the part of the ruler and not an active support. The grant is silent in telling us as to when and by whom the donation of the five *halas* was made.

Reference may also be made here to some Buddhist images unearthed at Mahōbā. On the evidence of the characters incised on their pedestals, they have been assigned by K.N. Dikshit to the 11-12th centuries A.C.² This, however, may be taken as an exceptional case confined to some areas, even if we rely on palaeographical evidence which is not always a sure indication of time.

From the region of Mālwa too we have only the single example of the sage Dānā-śrījñāna who is styled as *Bōdhisatva* and *Mahāchārya* and is represented as *Malavahi Paṇḍita*, and who, as it seems may have enjoyed the patronage of his contemporary Paramāra king in about the first half of the twelfth century when he flourished.³ But this information comes to us from the literary sources; and pointing out these stray examples, we may conclude that probably for want of the royal support this sect had almost totally disappeared from the entire region represented by our inscriptions.

Hinduism, on the other hand, is found to gain vigour in our period in almost all the regions under review, but its form was then considerably changed. The Vedic sacrifices which were very prominent in the Gupta period, had almost disappeared in our age, giving their place to the *Grihya* rites of the *Purāṇas*;⁴ and with the disappearance also of the philosophical aspect of religion, the one which captured popular mind was gaining ground. It was mainly represented by religious observances like *bhakti* (devotion), *vrata* (fast), *dāna* (charity) and *tīrtha-yātrā* (pilgrimage). To take first of these aspects, our period has been noted by a general rise of the *bhakti* cult throughout the country, and this general rise was marked by the activity of building temples where people could congregate. Here we have also to note that most of the kings of the time were followers of Śaivism and a number of them were zealous Śaivas themselves; as a result of this, Śaivism excessively flourished.

Taking the case of the imperial Paramāra rulers, we find that Siyaka II worshipped Śivanātha on the Māhī on his return after gaining a victory over Yōgarāja.⁵ Siyaka's son Vākpati donated a village for meeting the expenses of worship of Bhājṣvaridēvi and

1. No. 132, l. 14. The grants usually exclude a portion already donated, as we know from expressions like *pūrvadatta-bhukti-varjam*, etc.

2. *Mem. Arch. Sury. of India*, No. 8.

3. *S.E.*, p. 423.

4. Padmagupta's description of Vākpati that he performed numerous Vedic sacrifices on the occasion of which he adorned the earth with golden sacrificial posts (*N.S.C.*, XI, v. 73) is only a poetic panegyry since this form of sacrifice had then almost died out. So also is the poet's statement that Vākpati I resembled Indra and his horses drank the waters of the Ganges and also of the seas (*ibid.*, v. 10). Statements like *Trayidharmah pravardhatām* (No. 98, v. 49), also should be interpreted accordingly, and it may also be noted here that the titles and surnames of some of the donees appearing in our inscriptions are such as to show them only conversant with the Vedic sacrificial lore and not actually performing any sacrifice. In fact, not even a single inscription recording a donation for the Vedic sacrifice has yet come to light.

5. No. 1, l. 15; No. 2, l. 16.

for repairing her temple;¹ and Vākpati's brother Sindhurāja, of whom we have no inscription, is known to have been devoted to Śiva for his praise of the deity as related by his court-poet Padmagupta.² Sindhurāja's son Bhōja and the latter's successors, perhaps excluding a few examples like those of Naravarman and Trailōkyavarman whose religious inclination is not definitely known, were all Śaivites, as we know from their devotion to this deity and worshipping him while making grants.³ Bhōja is described as a zealous Śaiva (*Bharga-bhakta*) in the Udaipur *prastā*,⁴ and he also composed a work entitled *Tatva-prakāśa*, expounding the principles of Śaivism, as we shall see while dealing with the literature of the time. We also know that Udayāditya is stated to have obtained his son Jagaddēva through the favour of Hara;⁵ and we have examples to show that royal examples were followed by the public. The building activities of some of these rulers will be enumerated below in the proper context.

Similarly, the *Paramāra* rulers belonging to the junior branches of Vāgaḍa, Ābū, Bhinmāl and Jālōr were all followers of Śaivism, as we know not only from their paying homage to Śiva in the beginning of their records but also from the donations of some of them to Śaivite temples.⁶ And due to royal patronage this sect of Hinduism appears to have widely prevailed in the whole region.

Studying the religious inclination of the Chandēlla kings, we notice that with the exception of some of the early members of the house, for example Harsha and his son Yaśovarman, and also Jayavarman, who were followers of Vaiṣṇavism,⁷ all were Śaivites, as we know not only from the expression *Om namaḥ Śivāya* at the beginning of their grants and the initial verses thereof in which this deity is eulogised but also in the course of making the donations. Most of them also took pride in calling themselves *parama māhēśvaras*.⁸

The paucity of the material at our disposal does not allow us to make any definite statement about the religious tendency of the Kachchhapaghāta houses ruling in the Gwālior region. Only one of the three inscriptions of the house, which reigned at Gwālior itself, shows that Mahipāla, along with his predecessor, was a Vaiṣṇava, as he built a temple in honour of this deity in V. 1150. Of the other two inscriptions of the house, one records the construction of a Jaina temple, and the other, which speaks of the erection of a temple for Śiva in V. 1161, are silent about the religious predilections of the king. Virasirṅha of the Narwar Kachchhapaghāta house, of course, was devoted to Viṣṇu.⁹

The Yajvapāla kings, who subsequently ruled over the same region, were almost all Śaivites.¹⁰

1 No. 5, ll. 14-15.

2 N.S.C., XVIII, vv. 14-23.

3 Cf., e.g., No. 9, ll. 8-9. Here it may be mentioned that Arjunavarman I was devoted to Kṛṣṇa.

4 No. 19, v. 21.

5 No. 28, v. 7.

6 See, for example, Nos. 76, 83 and 91. Possibly there may have been a few exceptions about whose religious inclinations we know nothing. It may also be pointed out here that this statement is not true in the case of every ruler of the Ābū branch and also that the only inscription of the Jālōr branch does not lead us to any conclusion regarding the religious faith of the rulers belonging to it.

7 See No. 98, vv. 20, 42-43. For Jayavarman, note the adjective *prāṇita-Nārāyaṇa-pāda-sēvaḥ* in No. 148, l. 10.

8 For examples in No. 107, l. 2, and No. 142, l. 5.

9 See Nos. 155-157, respectively, for these houses.

10 This conclusion is based on stray references as we have no royal charter issued by any of the rulers of this house. With the single exception of No. 160 which begins with a verse in praise of *Murāri*, and one or two more, all others invoke the blessings of Śiva and Viṣṇu in the beginning.

INTRODUCTION

Thus we see that Śaivism was the most prominent cult in the whole region represented by our inscriptions, most of the rulers themselves being zealous champions of this creed. It is therefore natural that the religious faiths of these rulers must have been followed by most of their ministers, generals, feudatories and private individuals, and this led to a great building activity which was also accentuated by the cult of *bhakti*, gaining ground almost throughout India during this time. To take examples from Mālwa with reference to this activity, we find the Udaipur *prastasti* stating that Bhōjadēva "made the world (*jagatī*) worthy of its name by covering it all round with temples dedicated to Kēdāra, Rāmēśvara, Sōmanātha, Śuṇḍira (?), Kāla, Anala and Rudra",¹ which are all Śiva's names. Some of these temples, though still unidentified, may have been in Mālwa itself.

The activity of building temples in honour of Śiva and the other deities is noted to continue throughout the extensive dominions of the Paramāras and their feudatories. Bhōja's brother Udayāditya erected the great temple 'of admirable beauty' in honour of the deity locally known as Nilakanṭhēśvara;² and almost to the same time belongs the exquisitely carved Siddhēśvara temple at Nēmāwar³ (Dēwas District) and the magnificent group of temples resembling those at Khajurāhō, at Ūn (Nīmāḍ District), some of which are dedicated to Śiva and the others to Viṣṇu or Jaina deities.⁴ Later on, in the reign of Dēvapāla was constructed a shrine in honour of Śambhu, at Harsūd (East Nēmāḍ Dist.) with some other deities in its precincts;⁵ and some beautiful temples at Mōḍī (Māndsaur Dist.) were built during the reign of Dēvapāla's son and successor Jayavarman II.⁶

One of the Paramāra rulers at Vāgaḍa, Dhanika by name, constructed a shrine for Śiva, at Ujjain, near the temple of Mahākāla.⁷ It was known after the name of the king and it is still so known. Another king belonging to the same house, Maṇḍalika, who was a feudatory of Jayasinhha I of the imperial house of Dhārā, erected a temple of *smara-riṇu* (Śiva) at Pārāhēḍā (also known as Pānāhēḍā) and made liberal endowments for its maintenance.⁸ Maṇḍalika's son Chāmuṇḍarāja is also known to have built a temple in honour of the same deity, at his capital Arthūṇā, in V. 1136, making sumptuous donations in favour of it.⁹ Anantapāla, a minister under this ruler, not only erected a temple for Hari but also carried on repairs to it in V. 1137.¹⁰

We have no record of the construction of a temple of Śiva by any of the Ābū rulers and we have a solitary instance of Mallāradēvi, the queen of Visala of the Jālōr house, endowing a Śiva temple with a golden cupola.¹¹

That the temple building activity in Bundelkhand also was not less vigorous in the contemporary times is indicated by our records. The inscription of Dhaṅga, which was renewed by his successor Jayavarman in V. 1173, informs us that the former of these rulers built a temple at Khajurāhō and adorned it with golden cupolas. It was as lofty as Mēru and in it was installed a Śiva -*linga* (Phallus-emblem) of emerald, along with

1 No. 24, v. 20.

2 No. 24, *A.S.I.*, Vol. VII, p. 82; *ibid.*, X, p. 68.

3 *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XX, Pt. I, p. 32; *A.S.I.R.*, W.C., 1920-21, p. 98.

4 *A.S.I.R.*, 1923-24; *A.S.I.R.*, W.C., 1918-19, p. 54. At the place there is also a half-finished temple of Viṣṇu.

5 No. 50, vv. 10-11.

6 No. 56. Also see *A.S.I.R.*, W.C., for 1919-20, pp. 94 ff.

7 No. 83, v. 26.

8 *Ibid.*, vv. 39 ff.

9 No. 84, vv. 66 ff.

10 No. 85, vv. 22 ff.

11 No. 96, v. 5.

an image of Śiva, and the king also settled Brāhmaṇas in it, honouring them by donations of money, corn, cows and land.¹ Another Chandēlla king, Paramardin, erected a splendid temple in honour of the same deity (*adri-tanayā-ramaṇa* and *Mṛidāni-parivṛdha*),² and his chief minister Sallakṣhaṇa built two temples side by side, one dedicated to Viṣṇu and the other to Śiva.³ Still another temple in honour of Śiva is known to have been built by Subhaṭa, an officer under Bhōjavarman.⁴ It may also be noted here that during the reign of this king, a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu was also built by one of his ministers, Nāna.⁵ These, of course, are a few prominent examples.

No temple of Śiva is known to have been built by any of the Kachchhapaghāta or Yajvapāla rulers, though an instance of building a Viṣṇu temple has been cited above, and another of a Śiva temple built by a minister under Mahipāla. It was built by Madhusūdana, a son of the treasury officer of Bhuvanapāla.⁶

Thus we may note that of all the deities worshipped in our period, Śiva was the most popular. In our inscriptions he is mentioned by his common names such as Hara, Rudra, Sambhu, Mahēśvara, Indumauli and so on, and sometimes, by high-sounding poetic names as *Adri-tanayā-ramaṇa*, as noted above. We have also instances when the deity was known after the person who installed the image or built the temple, for example, Udayēśvara, Dhanēśvara and Maṇḍanēśvara, as already seen above. Besides these, we have examples to show that this deity was also named after a place or a river, for example, Maṇēśvara, after the confluence of the river Maṇā with a small stream, Ghaṇṭēśvara, after Ghaṇṭāpalli, and Achalēśvara after Achalgaḍh at Ābū.⁷ We have also Śaivite names like Sātalēśvara and Gōhaḍēśvara,⁸ the significance of which cannot be correctly explained though they appear to be so called after some places near by.

Considering the religious practices connected with Śaivism, we have evidences on record to show that all its four well-known sects, viz., Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kālāmukha and Kāpālīka⁹ existed in some form or other in most of the parts of the extensive region. The first of these sects which is also known as that of Lakuliśa, is said to have been found by Lakuleśvara, or Lakulēśvara, considered as an incarnation of Śiva Himself; and it is interesting to note that during the reign of the Paramāra king Dēvapāla a savant named Kēśava installed an image of Lakuliśa, along with those of some other deities, in a temple built by him at Harsūd (Nemād Dist.), in V. 1278.¹⁰

That this sect, which originated at Kārvaṇ (Kāyavarōhaṇa) near Baroda, may have spread its influence in the neighbourhood and was thus current in some parts of Mālwa has been shown by me elsewhere;¹¹ and D.R. Bhandarkar and R.D. Banerji found images of Lakuliśa in the villages of Mōḍi and Sandhārā¹² in the Mandsaur District. We have an inscription at Jhālrapāṭan (about 40 kms. east of it) in which a sage of the name of Īśanamuni is compared to Lakuliśa.¹³ A fragmentary inscription from the first of these

1 No. 114, vv. 48 ff.

2 No. 136, v. 11.

3 No. 139, vv. 26 and 25 respectively.

4 No. 150, vv. 28-29. This inscription is fragmentary but from the fact of its eulogising Śiva in the beginning the shrine appears to have been dedicated to this deity.

5 No. 149, v. 34.

6 No. 156, v. 22.

7 No. 23, v. 3, and No. 112, respectively.

8 The Chitri and Ringnōd inscriptions respectively.

9 For the divergent views on the subject, see *Hist. of Śaiva Cults in N. India*, pp. 3 and 57 and p. 21; *Evolution of Theistic Sects*, p. 131; and *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI (1950), p. 1 ff.

10 No. 50, v. 11.

11 *Journ. of the Bihar Res. Soc.*, Vol. XII, Pt. 3 (1955).

12 *P.R.A.S.*, W.C., 1912-13, p. 56; *ibid.*, 1919-20, p. 89.

13 *I.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 158.

places mentions a Pāsupata sage of the name of Mallikārjuna who donated a village from his own *bhukti* to a deity whose name is lost.¹

Of the Śaiva monasteries existing in our period in Mālwa, we may cite the example of one which is said to have been current at Ujjain itself, under the supervision of the ascetic Kēdārārāsi, who is mentioned with eight of his spiritual ancestors in an inscription from Ābū, dated V.S. 1265 or 1208 A.C. The first of these ancestors was Nūtana who came from Chandīkāśrama.² The object of this inscription is to record the building operations at the *Tirtha* of Kanakhala in Achalagaḍh; and calculating the approximate time of two centuries for the eight successive ancestors mentioned in it, we may hold that the monastery may have made its beginning in the early years of the eleventh century A.C., in the time of Bhōjadēva, when Ujjain was a flourishing religious centre.

To give examples from the region of Ābū, we learn from a copper-plate grant of Dhārāvarsha, who belonged to the junior Paramāra house, a Śaivāchārya Visala Udagradamaka was allowed to graze his cows on the royal grazing ground without paying any tax.³ And that this sect was prevalent so far in the northernmost part of the kingdom of the Ābū Paramāra house is indicated by a number of images of this incarnation with an inscription recording a grant made to the temple dedicated to this deity in the reign of Dhārāvarsha's son Sōmasimha, from Nāṇā (Pāli District) dated V.S. 1290.⁴

The prevalence of this sect in the Bhinnmal area in our age is attested by two of our inscriptions (Nos. 91 and 93), one of which mentions the donation of a field by Dēvarāja of the junior Paramāra house in V.S. 1059 (or 1069 ?) and the other, which is dated V.S. 1123 (1067 A.C.), states that in the reign of Dēvarāja's grandson, Kṛishnarāja, some *drannas*, which were offered by certain people to a Śaivite temple were actually handed over to a Pāsupatāchārya, who was obviously in charge of the temple in which the deity was enshrined.

The *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan who belonged to the Śaiva sect, are known to have spread from their original place Upēndrapura, throughout the kingdom of the Kalachuris in the east and to the Rānōd-Kadvāhā region in the north. Upēndrapura, which also appears in one of our inscriptions,⁵ has not satisfactorily been identified, though its location has been suggested in western Mālwa, by V.V. Mirashi.⁶ This suggestion, if correct, may indicate that some more Śaiva monasteries may have existed in the region during the period under review.

Viewing the spread of Śaivism in the Vindhya region, we find the instance of the sage Vāsudēva, who was the religious preceptor of the Chandēlla king Kirtivarman and who also built a *maṇḍapa* of the shrine of Nilakanṭha at Kālāñjar. He is said to have requested the Śaiva and the Pāsupata *Āchāryas* to continue his donations to it.⁷ Another example is afforded by the Dhurēṭi plate informing us that the lord (*dhattāraka*) and the illustrious Vimalaśiva mortgaged a village (presumably for the maintenance of a monastery in his charge) to a Rānaka, also requesting the Śaiva and Pāsupata ascetics to approve of his action.⁸

1 No. 56, ll. 33-35.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 220 ff. D.C. Ganguly's remark that Chandīkāśrama was at Ujjain is not convincing, for he has given no evidence and it may have been outside also. For his remark, see *H.P.D.*, p. 248.

3 No. 68, l. 12.

4 *P.R.A.S.*, W.C., 1907-08, p. 49. See our No. 78, in which the name *Lakulīsa* is lost and has been restored from the reading of D.R. Bhandarkar.

5 No. 34, l. 5.

6 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. clii.

7 No. 110, v. 6.

8 No. 143, ll. 15 ff.

A glimpse into the daily life of these ascetics may be had from the same record which tells us that Vimalaśiva bathed and worshipped the god three times daily, and he also worshipped the fire; his son Śantaśiva led an austere life by observing *Yōga* i.e. *Yama*, *niyama* and *dhyāna*, etc., and what appears rather curious, that the latter's younger brother, who composed the inscription, was as dexterous in the use of weapons as in Śāstras. Vimalaśiva, who is here mentioned as a *Rājaguru*, appears to have been the same as the preceptor of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha¹ and thus exerting considerable influence over the royal family.

The Kāpālikas worshipped Śiva in his terrific form. They appear to have exercised considerable influence around Ujjain in our period; and that their influence reached in the south so far as the Baroda territory is known from the Tilakwāḍa grant of V. 1103.² This inscription describes the sage Dinakara as a *mahāvratadhara* and thus resembling Śiva himself. It is thus obvious that the Kāpālikas also had to observe certain vows. Because of same common practices, they were sometimes also confused with the Kālānānas and Kālāmukhas.³ The *Prabōdhachandrōdaya*, a drama written by Krishṇamiśra to celebrate the victory of the Chandēlla Kirtivarman, introduces a Kāpālika who holds a debate with a Jaina monk and a Buddhist *bhikṣu*. Elsewhere, this drama also describes the Kāpālika faith as the doctrine of Paramēśvara and the worship of Mahābhairava by the followers of this cult.⁴ We have, however, no epigraphic evidence to show the spread of this sect in the Bundelkhand region. It also seems to have gradually dwindled throughout the regions comprising Mālwa and Bundelkhand, probably because of its repulsive practices.⁵

From the foregoing account it is clear that Śaivism was highly prosperous in the region containing two *Jyōtirlingas* - one at Ujjain and the other at Māndhātā, along with a *Siddha-linga* at Kālāñjar.⁶

ŚAKTI WORSHIP

Śakti, Pārvati or Dēvi, the consort of Śiva, is often referred to and eulogised in our records in various forms and by her different names. Occasionally, she is invoked to show her blessings, as in the Udaipur *prāśasti*,⁷ and homage is sometimes paid to her while beginning an inscription, as *Namaś=Chandīkāya*.⁸ We have a few epigraphical instances to show the installation of this deity, e.g., of an image of Pārvati at Māṇḍū in V. 1138 or 1081 A.C.,⁹ of another, Ambikā, from Harsūd,¹⁰ in V. 1275=1218 A.C. both from the Mālwa region; of that of Mahishāsūramardini from Dhāntā in the Sirōhi

1 C.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 63, l. 22.

2 No. 15.

3 See R.G. Bhandarkar, *Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and other Minor Religions*, p. 168; *Nalachampū*, p. 164; and *I.H.Q.* Vol. XXXV, 1939, pp. 120 ff.

4 Act III, v. 13.

5 For Kāpālikas and their practices, also see *J.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (1948), p. 10, n. The Kāpālika introduced in the *Prabōdhachandrōdaya* describes himself in the following words:- "My necklace and ornaments are of human bones. I live in the ashes of the dead and eat my food in human skulls. etc. etc." The way of description shows that this sect practised horrid and repulsive forms of Śaivism, and it is possible that these practices may not have been allowed to continue in the Chandēlla kingdom where the Pāśupatas, exerted influence even on the royal house, as already seen. The number of the followers of this sect seems to have dwindled in Mālwa also, from the time of Śaṅkarāchārya, who defeated its representatives along with those of the other sects, as we learn from the *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* of Ānantaḡiri.

6 No. 110, v. 8.

7 No. 24, v. 3.

8 No. 112.

9 No. 20.

10 No. 50, v.11.

area¹ in V. 1277 or 1221 A.C.; and of still another, under the name of Kālī,² in Viravarman's reign, at Kālañjar, in the Vindhya region. Vākpati-Muñja issued a grant for the daily worship of Bhāṭṭeśvari-Dēvi and also for carrying on repairs to her temple at Ujjain.³ Charchikā, another form of the same deity, was honoured by Naravarman, the Paramāra king,⁴ Limbāryā by Dēvapāla,⁵ and Mahārūṇḍa perhaps by the Yajvapāla kings.⁶

Citing a few epigraphical examples of images of the same deity, from the Vindhya region, we note that they all belong to a later period, i.e., to the 13-14th centuries A.C. A fragmentary inscription of the time of the Chandēlla king Viravarman, who flourished in the third quarter of the thirteenth century A.C., informs us that he installed images of Nilakaṇṭha and Kālī in splendid temples,⁷ and three records of the time of his successor, Hammiravarman, mention the consecration of the images of Kēdāra, along with some Śaivite feminine deities, at Ajaigadh, by Subhaja, the Superintendent of the treasury and Chief Minister of Bhōjavarman, between the years 1287 and 1309 A.C.⁸ Among these, images of the pacific form are those of Pārvati, Kāmākhyā, Harasiddhi, Śivā, Jivantaputrikā and Gaurī, and those of the terrific forms are Chamuṇḍā and Kālīkā.

From our literary sources we know that Ujjain was traditionally one of the *Śākta pīthas*; and the *Aṣṭādaśapītha*, which is said to have been composed by Śaṅkarāchārya, mentions the seat of Mahākālī at Ujjain.⁹ Ābū was another centre of this type.¹⁰

In his *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*,¹¹ Bhōja mentions a number of forms of this deity; they are not taken into account here. Similarly, this description excludes the sculptural representations of this type found throughout the region of Madhya Pradesh.¹²

The composite sculptures of Śiva and Pārvati (Umā-Mahēśvara), for example, those of *ālīṅgana*, *vivāha* and *Ardhanārīśvaratva*, were also worshipped in our age, as shown by the finds of images of this type and belonging to our time, either separate or in parts of temples throughout the region. But we have no epigraphical reference in this respect.

GAṆAPATI

Gaṇapati, one of Śiva's sons who is believed to remove all our obstacles and give success does not appear to have claimed much reverence at the beginning of our period. His blessings are invoked only in two Paramāra inscriptions, viz., the undated Udaipur *prasasti* and the Harsūd inscription of the time of Dēvapāla, dated in V. 1275 or 1218 A.C.¹³ The latter of these records also speaks of the consecration of an image of this

1 No. 77.

2 No. 148, l. 27.

3 No. 5, ll. 14-15.

4 No. 36, v. 1. A stone image of this deity was found by N.P. Chakravarti, at Panthārīā near Māndhātā. See *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 80. The details are not recorded.

5 No. 50, l. 6.

6 No. 180, v. 2. Apparently it is a form of the mother-goddess, as the other two also.

7 Nos. 148, l. 27.

8 Nos. 193-195. To these images we may add those of Durgā, who has both the forms, Surabhi, and also 64 Yōginīs to whom a temple was dedicated at Khajurāhō. See *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 416, No. 1.

9 *J.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. XIV, p. 19, n.1.

10 *ibid.*, pp. 20-22.

11 II, Chap. 77.

12 Some of these sculptures may be taken as belonging to our period. Images of Śakti were found at Dūdākhēḍī and Kōhlā in the Mandasaur District and at Mākā in the Ujjain District. They are all from the Paramāra kingdom and are ascribed to 11-12th centuries by R.D. Banerji. See *P.R.A.S.W.C.*, pp. 82, 86 and 101 respectively. From the kingdom of the Chandēllas, Cunningham noted some remains indicating the existence of a *Chaurasī Yōginī* temple of about 900 A.C. See *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 417; and the images of *Aṣṭaśakti* carved in a row at Ajaigadh, one of them being that of Chāmuṇḍā (*ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 47). These are only a few examples.

13 Nos. 24 and 50 respectively.

deity, along with some others. Besides these, we have only three instances, each one from the region of Mālwa, Vindhya and Gwālior, paying homage to this god in the beginning of the inscriptions.¹ We have still another reference in this respect; it is furnished by the Kālāñjar inscription of the reign of Viravarman, dated in V.S.1325 or 1281 A.C.² It records the installation of this deity under the name of Vāñi-Vināyaka, by Vāsudēva, a son of Gaṇapati and the younger brother of Jagadvira, a minister under Viravarman. But all these references, which are stray and far between, do not indicate the popularity of the worship of this deity throughout the region and probably also go to show that this cult began to gain ground in this area some time in the 13th century to which the Harsūd and the Kālāñjar inscriptions referred to above belong.

OTHER ŚAIVA DEITIES

The worship of Skanda, another Śaivite deity and the other son of Śiva himself, does not appear to have claimed many votaries in our age. We have neither many images of this deity and not even a single epigraphical evidence in this respect. The images of Nandin, the vehicle of Śiva, and of the accompanying Bhairava, are found in a large number throughout the region, as they are an indispensable adjunct to a Śaiva shrine. But so far we have not even a single epigraph by way of reference to them.

VAISHNAVISM

The other important sect of orthodox Hinduism was Vaishnavism, known after Viṣṇu, another member of the Trinity, whose worship was popular, perhaps not to that extent as of Śiva, in most of the royal families represented by our records.

It is true that most of the rulers of our time were devoted to Śiva, but they did not confine their allegiance to this god alone and extended reverence to the other deities also, who were worshipped side by side with him in our age. The official representation of the Paramāras, for example, was Garuḍa, and that of the Chandēllas, Lakṣmī or Gaja-Lakṣmī, as to be seen on their copper-plate charters; and their predilection to some other deities is shown from their worship of the Sun, the fire and Viṣṇu and other deities while making donations and also from invoking the blessings of these and the other deities at the beginning of the inscriptions.

During the period under review we find some of the kings building and repairing temples dedicated to Viṣṇu; and their examples were followed by ministers, other officers and the general public who were fervent devotees of this deity. Taking the case of the Paramāra rulers, an inscription from Bhilsā tells us that the *Mahākumāra* Trailōkyavarman constructed at that place a shrine of Murāri in the form of Varāha and installed in it the images of Viṣṇu in different forms.³ In the reign of Dēvapāla, a later Paramāra king, a person named Kēśava, installed, among others, images of Kṛiṣṇa and of some other incarnations of the same deity in a temple of Śiva constructed by him at Harsūd.⁴ That this cult too had captured the public mind is known from an eulogy in honour of the same deity which was composed by Bilhaṇa, the Minister of Peace and War under Subhāṭavarman.⁵ It does not refer to any temple building activity.

1 Nos. 55, 143 and 160 respectively. He is also invoked in an inscription from Khajurāhō, No. 114, v. 5.

2 No. 147.

3 No. 42, vv. 4-6.

4 No. 50, v. 11.

5 No. 185, B.

We have a solitary example from the Ābū area informing us about the Brāhmaṇa minister of Pratāpasimha, who repaired the temple of Paṭṭa-Vishṇu at Girvaḍ in V.S. 1344 or 1286 A.C. and presented gold and silver ornaments to the deity.¹

We have seen above that some of the Chandēlla rulers were fervent devotees of Vishṇu, and the Khajurāhō inscription of V.S. 1011 (953-54 A.C.) tells us that Yaśovarman constructed the splendid, lofty and gold-pinnacled temple of Vaikuṇṭha.² Another temple for Nārāyaṇa was built by Gadādhara, the Chief Minister of Madanavarman,³ another by Sallakshana, the Chief Minister of Paramardin in V.S. 1252 or 1195 A.C.,⁴ and still another, in honour of Kēśava, was built by Nāna, the Chief Minister of Bhōjavarman in V.S. 1345 or 1288 A.C.⁵

All these Vishṇu shrines built almost at regular intervals speak highly of the provenance of Vaishṇavism throughout the reigning period of the Chandēllas, also showing the popularity of the cult.

So far as the territory around Gwālīor is concerned, reference has already been made to the temple of Vishṇu with the name Padmanātha which was begun by the Kachchhapaghāta ruler Padmapāla and completed by his younger brother Mahipala in V.S. 1150 or 1092 A.C.⁶ For the maintenance of this shrine, as we are also told, the king made luxurious arrangements for clothing and decorating the images of Aniruddha, Vāmana and Achyuta, which were all of precious metal, and he also established at Brahmapuri a charitable feeding house and granted a village, levying taxes throughout his territory. He also made due provision for the maintenance of this establishment and appointed a supervisor to look after the whole arrangement.

We have so far only one inscription of the Kachchhapaghāta house ruling at Narwar in the Shivpuri District, to throw light on this point. It is a grant issued by Virasimha in V.S. 1177 or 1120 A.C., and from paying homage to Nārāyaṇa in the beginning and the expression *parama-vaishṇava* applied to him in it, he was obviously a fervent devotee to Vaishṇavism.⁷ We have no means to know anything about the religious inclination of the rulers belonging to the Kachchhapaghāta house reigning at Dubkuṇḍ.

Our epigraphs mention Vishṇu by most of his common synonyms such as Hari, Nārāyaṇa, Vaikuṇṭha, Kēśava, Dāmōdara, Mādhava, Gōvinda, Daityāri, Pitāmbara, Vāsudēva, etc., but also as Aniruddha and Padmanātha, which are interesting. According to the *Brahma-Purāṇa*, the first of these two names is applied to one of the four aspects of the deity referring to him as sleeping on Śeṣha in the ocean, the other three aspects being known as Vāsudēva, Saṅkarshana and Pradyumna. The name Padmanātha (and not Padmanābha, by which the deity is generally known) is also interesting in indicating the deity after the name of the king Padmapāla and thus reminding us of a Śaivite name.

The Nagpur Museum stone inscription uses for Vishṇu the name *Viśvarūpa*,⁸ whereas we have two instances - one from Mālwa and the other from Vindhya,⁹ where this deity is addressed as *Viśvamūrti*. The appellation *Viśvamūrti*, though generally it denotes the

1 No. 82, vv. 30-33. Also see No. 187.

2 No. 98, v. 42.

3 Mau inscription, No. 125, v. 46.

4 No. 139, v. 25. Verse 26 of the same inscription states that he also built a temple of Indumauli (Śiva). This indicates high spirit of impartiality on his part.

5 No. 154, vv. 33-34.

6 Here we may also refer to a Śiva temple built at Suhāniyā (Simhapāniya) by one of the ancestors of Mahipāla. But from this solitary instance we can not necessarily conclude anything about his personal religious inclination.

7 No. 157.

8 No. 33, v. 7.

9 Nos. 42, v. 6; and 149, v. 1.

Sun,¹ appears to have been used here to indicate that in our age too both these deities commanded the same type of equal respect as in the former age.²

The Vidishā inscription, referred to above, belonged to the Paramāra *Mahākumāra* Trailōkyavarman and is dated V.S.1216 or 1159 A.C. In verse six it states that the king who built a temple of Vishṇu in the form of Varāha, installed in it the images of the same deity which were distinguished from each other by the way in which they held the four well-known *āyudhas* in their four hands. It is thus significant to note that the worship of Vishṇu was also current in that age at least in Mālwa. We have no other instances of this type from any of the other regions.

Vishṇu is the only member of the Trinity who is known for assuming *avatāras*, and these *avatāras* also are mentioned in several of our inscriptions to invoke his blessings, as can be known from the following tabular statement:

No.	Name of <i>avatāra</i>	References	Notes
1.	Fish	No. 33, v. 7 No. 149, v. 4	Śripati is invoked in verse 2.
2.	Tortoise	No. 149, v. 5	
3.	Boar	No. 42, v. 4 No. 60, v. 10 No. 98, v. 1 No. 149, v. 6	Along with man-lion.
4.	Man-lion	Nos. 1-2, v.1 Nos. 4-7, v.1 No. 60, v. 10 No. 149, v. 7 No. 120, 1.2	Referring to installation of an image of the deity at Kālāñjar in V.S.1192.
5.	Vāmana	No. 98, v. 2& v.38 No. 149, v. 8	Here Vishṇu is described as superior than Śiva.
6.	Paraśurāma	No. 47, v. 2 No. 48, v. 3 No. 51, v. 3 No. 57, v. 2 No. 60, v. 2 No. 149, v. 9	
7.	Rāma	No. 47, v. 3 No. 48, v. 3 No. 51, v. 3	

1 Cf. *Mālatīmādhava*, 1, 3.

2 Cf. *Ādiṭyānām-aham Viṣṇuḥ*, in the *Gita*, X, 21.

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No.	Name of <i>avatāra</i>	References	Notes
		No. 57, v. 3 No. 60, v. 3 No. 149, v. 10.	
8.	Balarāma		Only occasionally and rarely mentioned
9.	Kṛishṇa	Nos. 4-7, v. 2; No. 33, v. 2; No. 149, vv. 1-3	

It may be noted here that all these *avatāras* are mentioned in No. 149, invoking their blessings.

The above survey indicates the wide prevalence and popularity of the worship of Vishṇu throughout the region, as we can conclude from the finds of images also. The epigraphs, however, refer to the *avatāras* of Varāha, Nṛisimha and Kṛishṇa more often and generally in connection with rescuing the kingdom by the kings from their enemies. The Udaipur *prasasti* compares Udayāditya to the Varāha incarnation in connection with relieving the Paramāra kingdom from its enemies, the Chaulūkyas on the west and the Kalachuris in the east. The Dēogaḍh and Mahōbā inscriptions, referred to above, compare the Chandēlla king Kirtivarman to Kṛishṇa who obtained Lakshmi by churning the ocean in the form of his enemies. For a similar reason the Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman, who restored the power and prestige of his house, is compared to the same deity in an inscription of Viravarman, his immediate successor.¹

The special importance of the worship of the Varāha and Nṛisimha *avatāras* of Vishṇu in our time may probably be ascribed to the incessant struggle ranging among the royal houses; and the former of these deities appears to have been worshipped for ensuring victory to the dedicator and the latter to destroy his enemies. It is probably this thought which gave rise to the worship of the composite form of both these *avatāras*, as we notice in iconographic representations. Cunningham found images of this type at Chandrāvati (Jhālrapātan), Gwālior and Khajurāhō,² which represent all the different territories of our extensive region, and the images found by him at the last mentioned place appear to have been referred to in an inscription found in its close proximity.³ On the other hand, the *avatāras* of Rāma, Paraśurāma and Kṛishṇa are mentioned in our inscriptions which belong to a later period, i.e., of the thirteenth century, of course with some stray earlier exceptions, as is evident from the table given above.

LAKSHMĪ

Lakshmi, the consort of Vishṇu and the goddess of fortune, not only finds mention in some of our inscriptions but is also depicted on the coins issued by the Paramāra and the Chandēlla rulers. She was regarded as Rājya-lakshmi, representing the kingdom. The figure of Gaja-Lakshmi is engraved at the top of the land-grants of the latter of these dynasties. Her images are found in most of the Vishṇu temples, e.g., at the Dēvi-Jagadambā temple at Khajurāhō, locally known as the Dēvi temple.⁴ Lakshmi was also propitiated in every house on the night of Dipāvali, as at present.

¹ No. 45, v. 7. Also see No. 82, v. 18. The *avatāras* of Vishṇu are often mentioned while describing kings, e.g., in No. 84, v. 39, and their blessings are also invoked, e.g., in No. 98.

² *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 270.

³ No. 98, v. 2. Vide *Kiri-purusha-simha-ḍbhaya-jusham*. This inscription and the image were found by Cunningham near the Lakshmana temple. Also see *op. cit.*, p. 426.

⁴ *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, pp. 421 and 427.

SUN-WORSHIP

The Sun, who was an important deity from very early times, appears to have attained considerable influence at the beginning of our period, at least in Mālwa and its surroundings. The earliest epigraphical reference to the worship of this deity is furnished by the eulogy composed in his honour in the reign of the Paramāra king Bhōjadēva, by the *Mahākavichakravartin Paṇḍita Chhittapa* and found at Vidiśa.¹ Another instance, which is slightly later, is afforded by the Jainād (Ādilābād District) stone inscription recording the construction (or repairs) of a Sun temple by Padmāvatī, the consort of a military officer under Udayāditya.² In this connection it is of interest to note that in his *Rājamārtāṇḍa* Bhōjadēva mentions the worship of the Sun-deity on the seventh after fast on the sixth (vv. 1116-7) and also that we find that this deity is generally worshipped by the kings while donating land and villages, and also at the beginning of other pious deeds.

Inscriptions from the other areas of Madhya Pradesh are not very helpful in this respect, for they offer homage to this deity only in a passing way, for example, the use of the expression *namah Savitrē* while concluding an inscription from Khajurāhō³ and the invocation of this deity in a verse in an inscription from Narwar, of V.S. 1355.⁴ These stray examples do not lead us to any definite conclusion and probably indicate some personal or individual inclination.

The Sirōhi-Bhīnmāl area, on the other hand, affords unmistakable evidences regarding the worship of this deity, which was current there in our age. An inscription from Varmān, dated V.S. 1099, speaks of the repairs of a Sun-temple, calling the deity by the name of *Brahmāṇasvāmideva*,⁵ which appears to be a corrupt form of *Brahmāṇḍasvāmideva*, i.e., the lord of the universe. Another inscription, from Vasantagaḍh in the same area and dated in the same year, tells us that Lāhīnī, the widowed sister of Pūrṇapāla, the Sirōhi Paramāra king, repaired the temple of this god and also made some other benefactions to it.⁶ The expression *trailōkya-dīnō Hariḥ* used in one of the *māṅgala-śloka*s of the same epigraph clearly shows that the Sun was regarded identical with Hari, which is a point worth noting, as we have already observed above in the course of dealing with Vaishṇavism. The inscription also tells us that the worship of the Sun was prevalent throughout the town.

We tread on sure grounds while dealing with the worship of the Sun-deity in the region of Bhīnmāl, the capital of one of the junior branches of the Paramāra rulers. From one of the inscriptions found at this place and dated in Krishṇarāja's reign in V.S. 1117 or 1060 A.C., we know of the restoration of the temple of Jagatsvāmin, as the name is used here, and of furnishing it with a golden cupola and a banner by certain persons. The opening verse of this record uses such expressions as to indicate that the Sun-deity is superior even to Śiva, and it also tells us that the above mentioned pious deed was performed by certain persons including Jainas also, after inducing kings, princes, Brāhmanas, and the other citizens to resort to *Saura-dharma*, i.e., the worship of the Sun.⁷ Another inscription from the same place and dated V.S. 1239 or 1183 A.C., i.e. 123 years subsequently, mentions the name *Vālaka*, i.e., Bālārka (the morning Sun) and records the

1 No. 37. Another inscription from the same place and ascribed to c. the 11th century (*Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 215) shows Vidiśa to be a centre of Sun-worship in our period.

2 No. 29, v. 19.

3 No. 98. For a temple dedicated to the sun, at Khajurāhō, see *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 422.

4 No. 179, v. 2.

5 No. 61.

6 No. 62, v. 27.

7 No. 92, ll. 9-11.

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donation of a *dramma* each, by a person and his wife to the deity.¹ Both these epigraphs clearly show, as also concluded by D.R. Bhandarkar, that about the middle of the eleventh century Sūrya-worship was "a common religious ground for both Hindus and Jainas to meet and make benefactions".² This conclusion rests on the mention in our epigraphs, of persons who belonged to both these communities, as stated just above.

BRAHMĀ

Brahmā was no longer a popular deity, losing his importance some time probably before this age, and we can have no idea of the philosophical tenets of this deity. The only temple dedicated to him and belonging to our period has so far been discovered at Dudāhi near Lalitpur, in which Alexander Cunningham found six short inscriptions, all of which inform us that it was built by Kṛishṇapa, the grandson of the Chandēlla king Yaśovarman.³ No temple of Brahmā has so far been discovered in any other region represented by our inscriptions, except the one at Vasantagaḍh;⁴ in the Sirōhi District and though a number of the images of this deity are to be seen in parts of the temples and also separately, the only one which is inscribed was found at Bāgh, the well-known archaeological place in Dhār District.⁵ It is true that in some of our inscriptions he is invoked with the other two deities of the Trinity, viz., Viṣṇu and Śiva, e.g., in one which belongs to the reign of the Paramāra king Dēvapāla,⁶ but the influence of this god was felt only in name.

VĀGDEVĪ

Bhōjadēva, the greatest of all the Paramāra kings, was zealously devoted to this deity, called variously as Sarasvatī, Vāṇī, Bhārati, Śārādā, and so on; and during the time of this king, she achieved very great importance, plainly owing to his attitude of patronising men of letters. He refers to the worship of this deity in his works and also installed an image of her in his palace known as *Sarasvatī-karṇhābharana*, at Dhārā. The image is inscribed.⁷ Even after the reign of this great king the deity appears to have continued to gain some honour, as we find her invoked in the inscriptions of his successors and also from those of the other ruling dynasties throughout the region.⁸ From her invocation in two of the inscriptions which are sectarian,⁹ we know that she commanded the same respect from the Jainas also as from the other sects of Hinduism.

Concluding the section of Hinduism, it may be observed here that we have not taken into account stray and solitary references to images from our epigraphs as they do not lead us to any definite conclusion. By way of examples, we may mention the images of Hanumat and Kṣhētrapāla which are stated to have been installed at Harsūd during the reign of the Paramāra king Dēvapāla in V.S. 1275, that of Nṛsiṃha in the reign of the Chandēlla king Maḍanavarman in V.S. 1192, that of Trimūrti in some other

1 No. 95.

2 P.R., W.C., A.S.I., 1907-08, p. 37.

3 Nos. 101-106. Also see A.S.I.R., Vol. X, p. 93 ff.

4 P.R., A.S.I., W.C., 1905-06, p. 50.

5 No. 66.

6 No. 50, v. 3.

7 See No. 14. The P.C.M. says that once when the king summoned a convention in which the representatives of the different sects appeared and each spoke in favour of his own creed, the goddess Sarasvatī appeared and said to the king:-

Ahimsā - lakṣaṇo dharmō mānyā dēvī cha Bhārati |

dhyānēna muktīm = āpnōti sarva - darśanāṇāṃ matam || (p. 42, v. 105)

8 For Mālwa, see Nos. 33, 50 and No. 185; for Vindhya, Nos. 114 and 143; for Sirōhi region, Nos. 60 and 62-63; and for region around Narwar, Nos. 160 and 180.

9 Nos. 154 and 159. In the former of these records she is called *Śrūta-dēvatā* or, and in the latter, *Śārādā*.

inscriptions, and paying homage to Pāñchajanya in the Amēra inscription of the time of Naravarman and the Yajñapurusha in an inscription of the Yajvapāla king Gōpālādēva.¹

JAINISM

Along with Brāhmanism, Jainism also flourished in our period throughout the region, particularly more vigorously in these parts where it found literary and missionary activities of the Jaina saints and also liberal royal patronage. This we may study by recording the activities of building temples and installing images in the respective parts of the area.

Taking the case of Mālwa, it is true that we have no epigraphic example of building or renovating a Jaina temple, but the references to consecration of images enable us to form an idea, e.g. two of them coming from Bhōjpur in the Rāisēn District in the east, one from Shērgadh in the Kōja District in the north and one from Kālvaṇ in the extreme south west.² Of the records from Bhōjpur, one states that an image of Śāntinātha was set up at that place by Sāgaranandin during the reign of (*Rājādhi*)rāja and *Paramēśvara* Bhōjadēva, and another that of Chillaṇa of the Vēmaka family installed there a pair of Jaina deities (*Jina-yugma*) in V.S.1157 (1100-1101 A.C.) in the reign of Naravarman, the nephew of Bhōjadēva. The record from Shērgadh, which is dated V.S. 1191 or 1134 A.C., speaks of setting up three images, those of Śānti, Kunthu and Aranātha, at that place by a devotee named Dēvapāla.

From the Kālvaṇ grant, mentioned above, we learn that Amma *Rānaka*, a feudatory of Yaśovarman, who was himself a feudatory of Bhōjadēva, renovated a Jaina temple at that place and endowed it with liberal donations. As stated above, this is the only example of carrying on repairs to an old temple in our epigraphs in the whole of the kingdom of the Paramāras of Mālwa.

All these examples belong to the 11-12th centuries A.C. and we have no epigraphs to enlighten us as to the condition of Jainism in any other time under the Paramāras, nor have we any evidence of a royal endowment for the maintenance of a Jaina shrine.

Of the Jaina temples built in the kingdoms of the junior branches of the Paramāras, the earliest example is furnished by two of them, both built in V.S.1159 or 1101 A.C., at Arthūṇa, one by Sahaja who was a merchant honoured in the royal court, and the other, by an officer under the king Chāmuṇḍarāja.³ Some seven years later, in V.S. 1166 (1109 A.C.), another temple in honour of Vṛishabhanātha was constructed in the same town, during the reign of Chāmuṇḍarāja's son and successor, Vijayarāja, by Bhūṣhaṇa, a wealthy and devout Jaina.⁴ It is interesting to note that in such a short period we have records of the construction of as many as three Jaina temples at one and the same place and all in honour of the same deity. It is as well interesting to see that the *prasāsti* set up in one of these temples was composed by the *Sāndhivigrahika*, who, by his name Vāmana, appears to have been a Brāhmaṇa.

From the Sirōhi region we have another record of building a *trika* (group of three temples?) at Jhālōḍi, by some members of the town assembly, in V.S.1255 (1197-98 A.C.)

1 Respectively Nos. 50, 120 31, 33 and 178 (v.5). The images of Hanumat, though of minor importance, are generally found in temples of Rāma (and also separately), whose cult was coming into importance in our period, as already seen. An inscribed image of the monkey-god belonging to the end of the ninth century was found at Khajurāhō. For another inscribed image of this deity, see No. 90.

2 Respectively Nos. 17, 32, 35 and 16. The dates of the first and the last of these inscriptions are lost.

3 Nos. 86 (v.6) and 87 (v. 14), respectively. The deities installed in both these temples are not mentioned in the inscriptions but appear to be Vṛishabhanātha, to whom homage is paid in the beginning.

4 No. 88, vv. 25-26.

and the donation of a plot of land made to it by Śringārādēvi,¹ the queen of Dhārāvarsha who was a devout Śaiva.

Taking stock of Jaina idols installed in the kingdom of the Chandēlla rulers, we find the earliest one representing Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Tirthamkara, set up at Darbāt (or Darbat), near Hamirpur, in V.S.1132 or 1075 A.C., during the reign of Kirtivarman, by two brothers Pāhilla and Jijū, at the instance of the sage Vāsavachandra.² Following this, we have records of three images, two of Nēminātha and one of Sambhavanātha, consecrated respectively in V.S.1208, 1211 and 1215, all in the reign of Kirtivarman's great-grandson Madanavarman.³ The first and the third of these three images were erected by the members of the Grahapati family which was known for its high reputation throughout the time of the Chandēlla rule. We have one more instance of an image of Śāntinātha established at Ahār near Tikamgaḍh, in a shrine (*chaitya*) which was built to shelter it in V.S.1237 or 1180 A.C., in the reign of Paramardin, Madanavarman's grandson. The temple was built by two brothers Jāhaḍa and Dayachandra (or Udayachandra) who also belonged to the Grahapati family.⁴

These idols which are only five in number come from a restricted area and they roughly belong to the 11-12th centuries A.C.; and they therefore do not enable us to hold that Jainism thrived under the Chandēlla rulers, which may have been due to the lack of royal support.

Coming to the north west and to a later time, the Dubkund stone inscription, which is of course a sectarian record, informs us that Rishi and his brother Dāhaḍa, who were both endowed with the title of *śrēṣṭhin* by the *Mahārāja* Vikramasimha of the Kachchhapaghāta house, constructed a shrine, in V.S.1145 or 1088 A.C., along with some other private individuals and influential persons, all actuated by the saint Vijayakirti, whose three predecessors are mentioned.⁵ We also learn that *Mahārāja* Vikramasimha himself also made liberal donations to the temple for its maintenance and repairs.

Coming to a still later period, we learn from an inscription from Bhimpur near Narwar, the capital of the Yajvapāla king Āsalladēva, that Jaitrasimha, who was a royal officer, was so immensely devoted to the Jaina faith that he took a vow to consecrate one Jaina image every day, renovated a Jaina temple at that place, in association with some leading persons of the town, in V.S.1319 or 1262 A.C., and also constructed a new one at Palāsavāha.⁶

Recording all these instances, we find that our period seems to have been remarkable for a wave of temple building activity which swept over the whole region.

1 No. 73, vv. 7-8. An earlier inscription recording the installation of an image of Vardhamāna and dated V.S.1024 (967 A.C.), during the reign of Kṛṣṇarāja, son of Aranyarāja of the Sirōhi branch of the house, is mentioned in *A.S.I.R.*, 1935-36, but the image cannot be found out today, nor is an impression of the inscription available.

2 No. 109.

3 Nos. 122-124. The name of the Tirthamkara Sambhavanātha does not occur in the inscription but is known from the *lāchhana*. For the installation of an image of Śāntinātha in the reign of this king, in V.S. 1203, see No. 190.

4 No. 133. This inscription describes the *Grahapati* family in eloquent expressions and records some building activities of the ancestors of the two brothers who built the temple at Ahār. This family also installed some other Jaina images. See No. 192.

5 No. 154, vv. 24 and No. 34, ll. 55 ff.

6 No. 159, vv. 34 and 36.

And we may also hope that some of the best specimens are still to come to light.¹ The Paurāṇic Hinduism, particularly as it is depicted in the later Purāṇas, lays stress on constructing temples and calls it a meritorious act; and this statement is also found echoed in some of our epigraphs which enumerate rewards for building temples of grass, wood, raw and baked bricks and of precious metals and stones.²

It may also be remarked here that with all the numerous sects and sub-sects of Hinduism prevailing side by side, our time witnessed a spirit of harmony and genuine respect for the belief of others. In spite of some mild hostility of the creed that may have temporarily prevailed in some parts, as shown by archaeological evidences, our age maintained a spirit of tolerance towards all the rival sects, and the different creeds respected each other as in a time of mutual give-and-take. We find Brahmanical images set up in Jaina temples, and here it is interesting to give an example of building a Śiva and a Viṣṇu temple side by side by one and the same person in the same year.³ It is equally interesting to note that two of our inscriptions which record setting up Jaina images have their opening verses so composed as to be equally applicable to a Jaina deity and also to Śiva.⁴

We have seen that a good many of those who caused temples to be built, particularly the members of the royal houses, also made provisions for carrying on timely repairs to breaks in them, for daily worship including waving light, cooking the *naivedya* for the deity and for maintenance of the charitable feeding halls attached to them. Besides these, arrangements were also occasionally made for festivals in connection with installation of the deity (*pratishṭhā*), raising banner (*dhvajārōpaṇa*) and car-procession (*ratha-yātrā*) of the god, and also for public performances like music and dancing on ceremonial occasions.⁵ And with these remarks we now close our account of the cult of *bhakti* which occupied a very high place in the religious thoughts of our age.

SOME OTHER CULTS

Side by side with the cult of *bhakti*, some other forms of religion, which were already current even before, began to gain strength in our age. They are the cults of *vrata* (observing religious fasts), *dāna* (giving alms) and *tirtha-yātrā* (visiting pious places), all forming the most popular aspects of the Smārta-Paurāṇik religion or the religion of the masses. Of the *vratas*, we find only a few, like the *ekādaśī* and the *Śiva-rātri* incidently referred to in our inscriptions but that this form of religion was vigorously current in our age is known from the writings of Bhōjadēva, who enumerates in his *Rājamārtāṇḍa* 32 *vratas* to be observed by a householder, also stating that they were all current in

1 For examples, the Jaina statues at Gwālior, Narwar, Chandēri and also in the surrounding region. Some of these images appear to belong to this time. Narwar was the capital of the Yajvapālas and in a subterranean house at that place are preserved a number of Jaina images. Chandēri which is now in the Gunā District of Madhya Pradesh, is only about 5-6 kms. west of the Betwā and not more than 35 kms. west of Lalitpur, the region around which was under the Chandēlla Madanavarman. The views expressed here, however, are not supported by our epigraphic evidences.

2 No. 83, vv. 39 ff.; and No. 156, v. 22.

3 No. 139, vv. 25-26.

4 The first of these inscriptions is our No. 17, from Bhōjpur. It records the installation of an image of Śāntinātha but opens with the expression *Chandrārḍha-mauli*, also denoting Śiva. The second is from Arthunā (No. 87); it describes Vṛishabhānātha as *Sadāśivam tam Vṛishabhēndra-nātham* and *jaṭā-maṇḍala-maṇḍitāṅgam*, which is applicable to Śiva also.

5 For example, see No. 19, l. 6; No. 82, vv. 30 and 38; No. 83, v. 48; No. 84, v. 73; No. 155, vv. 72 ff.; and No. 159, ll. 54 ff.

his time.¹ *vratas* and *upavāsas* are mentioned also in the *Tilakamāñjarī* of Dhanapāla,² a member of Bhōja's court; and Albēruṇī gives a list of fasts and festivals current in his time in some of the divisions of the country.³

The interesting instance of Dēlhaṇa, a Brāhmaṇa Minister of Pratāpasimha of the Sirōhi branch of the Paramāras, is perhaps worth mentioning here. As we learn from the Girvaḍ stone inscription, dated V. 1344, this officer, who renovated a Vishnu temple at that place, observed the vow of taking his meals only one time every day till the work was completed.⁴

That the cult of *vratas* was gaining popularity also in some other parts of the country is known from the contemporary writers, and here we may mention the name of Hēmādri, the Brāhmaṇa Minister under the Yādava kings Mahādēva (1260-1271 A.C.) and his nephew Rāmachandra (1271-1309 A.C.). Hēmādri mentions a number of *vratas* to be observed by a householder,⁵ and from the sources he names, we find that a large number of the *vratas* mentioned by him are from the Purāṇas rather than from the Smṛitis. And presuming, of course, that the state of affairs in Mālwa was not much different from that in its bordering region in the south, it is interesting to compare Hēmādri's treatment of the *vratas* and the number of them as given by him with the writing of Bhōjadēva, who flourished about three centuries earlier. This comparison very probably goes to show that the *Smārta-dharma*, which was popular towards the beginning of this period and which mentions less number of the *vratas* assumed the form of the *Paurāṇic dharma* towards its end when Hēmādri wrote.⁶ In accepting this view, however, we have to grant some allowance, since Hēmādri seems to have treated the subject more from the literary and less from the practical point of view, for he did not mention the actual state of affairs as done by Bhōjadēva.

CHARITY

Another popular aspect of the Smārta-Paurāṇik religion, or the religion of the masses as it may be called, was *dāna*, or making gifts to temples, Brāhmaṇas and some other individuals; and that this cult too was highly prevalent in our age is known from the fact that it is extolled in our grants as one of the means of bringing welfare and also of leading one to heaven. Charitable persons are described in our epigraphs, as even exceeding the wish-fulfilling cow, jewel and the tree and in some other similar ways.⁷ Reinforcement to the theory of making donations appears to have come from their elaborate treatment in the Purāṇas and the contemporary literature based on them, and from this we can also gather that this form of religion was in vogue not only in our region but also throughout the length and breadth of the country in our age. The objects to be given in charity constitute a plot of land or a village, cows, gold and gold coins, clothes, dwelling places, gardens, shops, halls and the like, all of which are referred to in our epigraphs, some of which mention the first two, i.e., land and cows, along with knowledge, which are extolled in them as great or liberal gifts (*ati-dānas*).⁸ The various

1 Aufrecht, *op. cit.*, In our inscriptions we have some vague references like *vratānvita* in No. 86, v. 11, which does not necessarily denote fasting.

2 Pp. 60 ff.

3 II, pp. 175 ff.

4 No. 82, v. 32.

5 *Chaturvarga-chintāmañjī*, *Vratakhanda*, Calcutta edn., p. 166. Also see *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 274.

6 It is significant to note here that of the 113 *Vratas* mentioned in the *Vratārka* all but three are based on the Purāṇas and of 128 mentioned in the *Vratārāja*, all are based on the Purāṇas.

7 Cf. *Kāmadhēnur* = *akāmā bhū-ch* = *chintā chintā* - *mañēr* = *api* |
vikalpaḥ kalpa - *vṛkshasya sruṭvā yad* = *dānam* = *adbhutam* ||

in No. 84, v. 65; and in *karō vasu* - *visarjjanē* No. 180, v. 9.

8 For example, see No. 45, v. 10 and 11, 17-18.

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motives of making grants in favour of temples are to provide for the worship of a deity, keeping shrines in proper order, providing food, clothing and the other necessities of life in favour of the Brāhmaṇas and others residing in the temples *etc.*

From this point of view, the details found in the copper-plate charters issued by the imperial Paramāra rulers and their feudatories may be tabulated as below:

No.	Name of king	Donated object	Occasion	Purpose
1-2	Siyaka II	Villages	<i>Amāvāsyā</i>	Victory
3	"	"	"	(fragmentary)
4	Vākpati II	<i>Tadāra</i> (?)	<i>Pavitraka-parva</i>	
5	Vākpati II	Village	Lunar eclipse	Worship, <i>etc.</i>
6	"	"	"	"
7	"	"	<i>Udagayana-parva</i>	Worship, <i>etc.</i>
8	Yaśovarman, feudatory of Bhōja	Land		Maintenance of a Brāhmaṇa
9	Bhōja	Village	Lunar eclipse	
10	"	"	Full-moon day	Victory
11	"	Land	Fifth of the bright half of Māgha	Vasantapañchami (victory)
12	"	Village	<i>Udagayana-parva</i>	
13	"	Land	"	Expiation for killing animals
15	Jasōrāja, a feudatory of Bhōja	Village	Lunar eclipse	Temple-worship
16	Amma, feudatory of Bhōja	Land	"	Temple worship, <i>etc.</i>
18	Jayasimha I	Village	Solar eclipse	To feed Brāhmaṇas
23	Udayāditya	"	<i>Damanaka-parva</i>	Temple-worship ¹
30	Naravarman	Land	Father's anniversary	

¹ Though a stone inscription, it is included here as showing the arrangement of its contents similar to what we find in a Paramāra grant, as already observed by A.S. Altekar who edited it in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 133 ff.

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No.	Name of king	Donated object	Occasion	Purpose
34	Naravarman	Land	Full-moon day of ¹ Kārtika	
198	"	Village	Solar eclipse	
38	Jayavarman	Fragmentary	Nothing is definitely known	
39	Yaśovarman	Village	Mother's anniversary	
40	Lakshmi-varman	Villages	Father's anniversary	
44	Hariśchandra	Villages	Lunar eclipse	
45	"	"	Solar eclipse	
46	Udayavarman	"	<i>Mahā-vaiśākhyāṁ parvanī</i>	
47	Arjunavarman	Village	Coronation ceremony	
48	"	"	Solar eclipse	
49	"	Land	Lunar eclipse	
51	Dēvapāla	Village	"	
57	Jayavarman II	"	"	
60	A general of Jayavarman II	Villages		

Going through the above statement, we find that of the thirty-two grants, three were made to temples and the rest to Brāhmanas, four of which (Nos. 18, 51, 57 and 60) were intended each to establish a Brahmapuri. As for the occasion for making the grants, we note that four (Nos. 18, 45, 48 and 198) were made on the occasion of a solar eclipse, seven on that of a lunar eclipse, four (Nos. 1-2 and 10-11) to celebrate victory over an enemy, one (No. 47) to celebrate the coronation day, one (No. 13) by way of expiation for killing animals (soldiers in the battle), three on the occasion of anniversary, two on the *udayagayana* and one on the *damanaka-parva*, and one on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha which was regarded specially holy, as we know from the expression *mahā-vaiśākhyāṁ parvanī*, *pūrṇimā* being considered generally holy. Only two of the grants (Nos. 1-2) were made on *amāvāsyā*, though there was no solar eclipse, but the intention was to celebrate victory over the enemy. The remaining of the grants were made on ordinary days without mentioning any *parva*.

Of all the junior branches of the Paramāras, we have only two royal charters, one of which was issued by Dēvarāja, from Rōpi, in V.S. 1099 (or 1069?), and the other by Dhārāvarsha of the Ābū branch, from Hāthal, in V.S. 1237.² The first of these charters

¹ This is one of the three dates mentioned in our record No. 34, ll. 14 ff. Another date, found in 1. 17 as the full moon day of Pausha, is not taken into account here. The *pūrṇimā* of Vaiśākha and Kārtika are specially recommended for making donations; see the *Brahma P.*, quoted in Hēmādri's *Dānakhaṇḍa*, p. 65; and *Ātri Smṛiti* (VI, 7), respectively.

² Respectively, Nos. 91 and 68. The date of the first of these records was differently read by D.R. Bhandarkar and V.N. Sastri (see the inscription), and the plate bearing it is not available for checking it. Also see No. 93, 1.2.

records the donation of a field to Aūrakachārya, the superintendent (*adhīṣa*) of a temple, on a lunar eclipse; and the second registers a gift of two *halas* of land to a sage, along with permission to graze his cattle free of tax on the royal grazing ground. The latter of these donations was made on the *dēvōthānī ēkādaśī* (11th of the bright half of Kārtika), which is mentioned as a specially holy day. That even an ordinary *ēkādaśī* was regarded holy is known from the Girvaḍ inscription of Pratāpasimha, great-grandson of Dhārāvarsha, which records the donation also of a cess to be collected on twelve such days, *i.e.*, *ēkādaśīs*.¹ It is also worth noting that the *ēkādaśī* falling on the bright half of Āshāḍha (*dēva-sāyanī*) is called a *parva* in one of our inscriptions.²

No copper-plate grant issued by any other house dealt with here is so far known, and with respect to grants made by the members of any of these houses nothing is specially noteworthy. With this remark we may now pass on to investigate the problem in hand with respect to the kingdom of the Chandēlla rulers, who are known to have issued sixteen charters so far, as tabulated below:-

No.	Name of king	Donated object	Occasion	Purpose
100	Dhaṅga	Village	Lunar eclipse	---
200	Vidyādhara	"	Solar eclipse	---
107	Dēvavarman	"	Mother's anniversary	
108	"	"	Lunar eclipse	---
118	Madanavarman	Land	Māghī <i>pūrṇimā</i>	
119	"	Land; also confirmation of some other grants previously made	<i>Vishuvat-saṁkrānti</i>	
126	Paramardin	Village	Confirmation of a grant made previously by his grand-father on a solar eclipse	7th of the bright half of Vaiśākha (Gāṅgā-saptami?)
129	"	"	Lunar eclipse	
130	"	Land	<i>Makara-saṁkrānti</i>	

1 No. 82.

2 No. 158, l. 7.

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No.	Name of king	Donated object	Occasion	Purpose
131	Paramardin	Land	Eighth day of the dark half of Kārtika	
132	"	Village	Seventh of the dark half of Chaitra	
134	"	"	Fourth of the dark half of Phālguna	
138	"	Land	Fourteenth of the bright half of Phālguna	
141(A&B)	Trailōkyavarman	"	Pension to one whose father was killed in a battle; in fact they are two separate grants	
142	"	"	do	
144	Viravarman	Land	For bravery (reward)	
151	Hammiravarman	"	<i>Ravi-pushya</i>	

Making a general survey, we find that of the total number of eighteen grants, one (No. 107) was issued on the occasion of the anniversary of the mother of the donor, one (No. 141) as a pension to the family of a warrior killed in battle, one (No. 144) for distinguished military service, and the rest by way of charities to Brāhmaṇas or for maintenance of worship. Of these, the last mentioned three (Nos. 100, 108 and 129) were issued on a lunar eclipse, No. 200 and the original of No. 126 on a solar eclipse, two (Nos. 119 and 130) on a *saṁkrānti* and one (No. 151) on Pushya *nakshatra* on a Sunday (*ravi-pushya* being regarded a holy day). One of the grants (No. 118) was issued on the full-moon day of Māgha which appears to have been regarded as a holy day. It is as well noteworthy that as many as seven of these grants were made from military camps.

It has already been stated that no grant of any of the Kachchhapaghāta or Yajvapāla rulers has so far come to light, except the singular example of the Narwar plate, issued by the Kachchhapaghāta king Virasimha, on the *amāvāsyā* day of Kārtika in V.S. 1177. The occasion is not mentioned in the inscription,¹ but we have to remember that it was the Dipāvali day and the grant may have been made in propitiation of Lakshmi. It may also be stated here that the above statements take into account only the copper-plate charters, and there are others, viz., the stone-inscriptions, recording liberal donations made for the maintenance of worship, etc. The donations of the Yajvapāla kings and the officers under them are restricted to excavation of tanks, wells and reservoirs and to plant gardens and similar other works.

Of the great gifts (*mahā-dānas*), three of our inscriptions mention that of *tulā-purusha*, i.e., the gift of some precious metal like gold and other objects equal to that of one's own body. One of them is that which was renewed by the Chandēlla Jayavarman and which speaks of his sixth ancestor Dhaṅga as having performed it a number of times; another says that this gift was made by Viravarman, a later prince of the same house; and the third is the Gwālior stone inscription of Mahipāla, dated V.S. 1150, which states

¹ No. 157, l. 1.

that the fifth of his ancestors, Vajradāmana did the same.¹ We have no other instance of it on record in our inscriptions, but that this gift was in vogue in some parts of the country in our time is known from the instance of the Kalachuri king Yaśaḥkarna who performed it as we are informed by his Khairha plate dated K. year 823 or 1076 A.C.²

Another kind of great gift (*Mahādāna*), namely, that of *Gōsahasra*, was performed by the Paramāra *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandra, as we are informed by his Piplianagar grant,³ dated V.S. 1235 (1178 A.C.). It is, however, a solitary example in all our epigraphs included here.

We have incidentally referred to endowments for feeding Brāhmaṇas as an act of charity, of which we have at least half a dozen cases on record. From a Chandēlla inscription we know that Dhaṅga, one of the earliest rulers of the house, settled some Brāhmaṇas in parts of a temple that he built at Khajurāhō in V.S. 1059;⁴ and the earliest Paramāra record referring to a parallel instance is that of Jayasimha I, dated V.S. 1112, which informs us that he donated a village for feeding Brāhmaṇas settled in the temple at Māndhātā.⁵ Of a later period we have again an inscription from the same place and dated V.S. 1331, telling us about the establishment of a Brahmapuri (Brāhmaṇa settlement) at Māndū and another at Māndhātā, by Anayasimha, a military officer under Jayavarman II.⁶ And in the north the Kachchhapaghāta king Mahipāla is known to have established Brāhmaṇas in parts of a temple and in the Brahmapuri attached to it.⁷ From still another inscription we know that a Brahmapuri existed at Ringnōd in the present Ratlām District in V.S. 1190 or 1133 A.C.⁸ This general survey indicates the prevalence of this practice throughout our age, of course naturally with some regional variations.

PILGRIMAGE

Still another aspect of religion which was extensively popular in the country in our age is *tīrtha-yātrā* or pilgrimage to holy places; and our region was not an exception to it. Here we may first of all note that most of the temples themselves were centres of pilgrimage. With its hoary antiquity, for example, Ujjain along with Māndhātā, which appears to have come to prominence later in our age, was a renowned *tīrtha* in Mālwa;⁹ and Kālāñjara in Vindhya and Arbuda in Rājasthān were almost equally renowned, all

1 No. 114, v. 52; No. 148, v. 60; and No. 155, v. 7, respectively. In the first of these records we have the use of *śataśah*, which is to be taken to show frequency and not in its literary sense; and in both, the use of the plural in *purushaiḥ* seems to suggest that either of the kings performed this ceremony on more occasions. Mahipāla also seems to have distributed his weight in gold, as we know from a fragmentary inscription which is not included here. See *A.S.I.*, A.R., 1936-37, p. 93.

2 See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 56, v. 21. The Mōḍī inscription (No. 56, l. 13) seems to state that Vairisimha, the father of Siyaka II of the Paramāra house of Mālwa, gave a *śulādāna*; but this is not certain as the record is fragmentary.

3 No. 45. The *Mahādānas* are usually enumerated as 16 but sometimes 10. For details, see *H.D.*, Vol. II, Pt. II, pp. 809 ff.

4 No. 114, v. 53.

5 No. 18, ll. 14-16.

6 No. 60, v. 66.

7 No. 155, vv. 71 and 79.

8 No. 158, l. 5.

9 From Ujjain we have as many as five copper-plate grants of the Paramāra kings (Nos. 5, 12, and 38-40), the earliest of them bearing the date V.S. 1036, whereas from Māndhātā we have four (Nos. 18, 51, 57 and 60), of which the earliest is dated V.S. 1112 and after a large gap, we have one of V.S. 1282. This clearly shows that Māndhātā came to be regarded as a *tīrtha* later than Ujjain, at least so far as the Paramāra rule is concerned. Similarly we may note that the earliest Chandēlla inscriptions are from Khajurāhō and the later ones from Kālāñjara.

these localities attracting people in large number from far and near. Each of these places is also known to have possessed a number of *tīrthas* in its vicinity.¹

Our epigraphs furnish a number of instances to show that some of the *tīrthas* like Kēdāra, Rāmēśvara and Sōmanātha, were visited by people for paying homage to the deities enshrined there while Gayā was for performing funeral rites.² In support of the first of these statements, we have a contemporary evidence recorded in the *Tilakamāñjarī*, which states that Sarvadēva, the father of Dhanapāla, who composed it during the reign of the Paramāra king Bhōjadēva, set out to visit *tīrthas* to wash off his sins of breaking a promise.³

A river was generally regarded sacred and a dip in its waters is said to be highly meritorious. The Ganges, the Yamunā, the Vētravati and the Sarasvati are some of the rivers mentioned in our inscriptions. The first three of these are too well-known to need any comment. Narmadā too often figures in our records.⁴ The Vētravati, flowing by Bhilsā or Vidishā, is said to wash off the sins of Kaliyuga.⁵ The Vasantagaḍh inscription of Pūrṇapāla describes a stream of the name of Sarasvati flowing by Vajānagara in the Śirōhi region as an abode of Brāhmaṇas and leading to heaven for those who take bath in its waters.⁶ Another river bearing the same name is said to be flowing near Sarasvatipattana (modern Survāyā in Shivpuri District) and on its banks the sage Dadhichi performed penance.⁷

A confluence of two rivers was regarded more sacred in our age, as even in modern days, and of this we have some examples in our epigraphs. Here we may cite the well-known instance of the Chandēlla ruler Dhaṅga who had forsaken his life at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā at Prayāga,⁸ and there obtained eternal bliss. Two other confluences described in our inscriptions are (1) of the Narmadā and the Kapilā (or Kuvilārā) at Omkāra-Māndhātā and (2) of Purnā and Paṭṭanada near Vasantagaḍh in the Śirōhi District,⁹ about which we shall say something more, below.

In our inscriptions we have also references as *Tīrthāmbhōbhīḥ snātvā* and *manōnudhyāta-Gaṅgādī-mahānadi-jalē*,¹⁰ showing the sacredness of the *tīrthas* and the rivers in our age. The Narwar stone inscription of the Yajvapāla Ganapatidēva, dated V.S. 1355 or 1298 A.C., tells us that his Chief Minister Vijahaḍa obtained two sons through his devotion to the two rivers after which he named them as Gāṅgadēva and Yāmunadēva,¹¹ respectively.

1 Ujjain, though not actually mentioned by the word *tīrtha* in any of our inscriptions, figures so in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabhasī (ed. by Jinavijaya, Bombay, 1956, pp. 11 ff.) and also in the Purāṇas (e.g., Skanda-Purāṇa, Ch. LXV), where it is said to have possessed a number of *tīrthas* (*kōṭi-tīrtha*). Kālāñjara is also mentioned as a *kōṭi-tīrtha* in one of the epigraphs (No. 108, l. 15), and its antiquity is known from its reference in the Purāṇas. The Vāmana Purāṇa (Ch. 84) also refers to Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādēva at that place. It may, however, be stated here that the word *kōṭi*, used to denote the number of the *tīrthas* at both these places, viz., Ujjain and Kālāñjara, has to be taken not in its literary sense of crores but figuratively, meaning several, for which cf. the expression *samastu-tīrthāḥ samalakṛitasya* in our No. 82, v. 11. Amarēśvara is mentioned as a *tīrtha* in our No. 49.

2 No. 178, vv. 14-15.

3 p. 2.

4 For example, see No. 45, l. 14.

5 No. 44, l. 10.

6 No. 62, v. 24.

7 No. 176, v. 2.

8 No. 114, v. 55. It is known as *jala-samādhī*.

9 Respectively No. 30, l. 10, and No. 82, v. 10. Another confluence - that of Manā with the Narmadā, is mentioned in No. 15, v. 10.

10 No. 40, l. 8 and No. 157 respectively.

11 No. 179, v. 16. Cf. the statement about the birth of Jagaddēva to Udayāditya due to his devotion to Hara.

Our inscriptions mention a number of *tīrthas*, for example, the Kalakalēśvara-*tīrtha* near Nāsik where Yaśovarman, a feudatory of the Paramāra king Bhōjadēva, made his donations to a Jaina saint, and the Sōmavati-*tīrtha*, near Bhṛigukachchha and the Amarēśvara-*tīrtha*, near Māndhātā where the Paramāra Arjunavarman bathed while before issuing grants.¹ Kōṭi-*tīrtha* at Kālānjara figures in the Chandēlla grants.²

Here we may add an interesting example of the *Piśāchadēva-tīrtha*, mentioned in our inscription No. 4 (l. 13), a dip in the water of which was popularly believed to ward off the evil influence of a *piśācha*.

Giving an account of the Rājasthān-Gujarāt region from our inscriptions, we may now relate how a place came to be regarded as a *tīrtha* and also how legends centred around it in course of time. This is clearly shown by the Girvaḍ stone inscription of Pratāpasimha of the Sirōhi branch of the Paramāra house. Following the well-known bardic tale of the origin of the Paramāras at Ābū, it relates that the god Rāma, while returning to Ayodhyā after killing Rāvaṇa, made a temporary halt at Mt. Arbuda, the hermitage of Vaśishṭha, and to announce there the chastity of his consort Sitā, he installed a deity, Śuddhēśvara by name, at Girvaḍ, on the confluence of the Pūrṇā with the Paṭṭanada, and since then this place was regarded as a *tīrtha*. The inscription also tells us that Rāmachandra declared many other places there as *tīrthas*.³ This account goes to indicate how *tīrthas* were coming into existence and how attempts were made to endow them with a hoary antiquity.

Some other sacred places known from our epigraphical records are Śrīmāla, Kāsahrada, Nāṇā and Muṅghalā - all around Mt. Ābū, with its Brāhmanical and Jaina shrines inviting people in large numbers. Śrīmāla, as we know from the inscriptions included here, was a great cultural and religious centre where a fair in Āśvina was held every year.⁴ From Nāṇā we have two epigraphs (Nos. 68 and 78), the first of which refers to a plot of land reserved for the Brāhmaṇas and the second mentions the famous temple of Nilakanṭhēśvara at that place. Kāsahrada (modern Kāyadrā) was a sacred place with the temple of Śiva,⁵ and Muṅghalā, from which we have an inscription included here,⁶ is mentioned to have been a sacred place in one of the Ābū inscriptions.⁷ In fact pilgrimage to holy spots and shrines, rivers, mountains, towns of ancient fame with the idea that it would bring salvation seems to have been specially recommended in our period.

To give examples from the Gwālior-Shivpuri region, we note that one of our inscriptions says that Chāchigadēva, the god-son of the Yajvapāla king Gōpāla, worshipped Kēdāra (in the Himālayas) and Sōmēśa (in Saurāshṭra), and purified himself by visiting some of the other *tīrthas* also.⁸ From another inscription of the same house we learn that Vijahada, the Chief minister of a king whose name is not mentioned in it, by his devotion to the river-deities Gaṅgā and Yamunā, obtained two sons, whom he named Gaṅgadēva and Yāmunadēva.⁹

Concluding this section we may remark that along with *bhakti*, the cult of *Vratas*, *Dānas* and *Tīrthas*, i.e., fasting, alms-giving and pilgrimage and so forth rightly to be

1 No. 16, l. 12; and Nos. 48-49 respectively.

2 For example in No. 108, l. 15.

3 No. 82, vv. 3 and 12.

4 See above on p.

5 In our inscription No. 67 only this temple is mentioned; but according to the *Kharataragachchha-bṛihadgurvāvalī*, it was a Jaina centre of pilgrimage. See *E.C.D.*, p. 266, n. 186.

6 No. 71.

7 See *A.S.I.R.*, W.C., 1907, p. 26.

8 No. 178, vv. 14-16.

9 No. 179, v. 16.

called the *Purāṇa-dharma* arose in our period not only in this particular region where the significant contribution of Bhōjadēva must have exercised great influence on the public mind, but also in the other regions of the country as is apparent from the *Vratakhanda* and *Dānakhaṇḍa* of Hēmādri in the south, the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri in Gujarāt¹ in the west, and the *Adbhutasāgara* and *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasēna in Bengal.² It appears that in an age this kind of ceremonialism and ritualism had spread all over India, as also noted by Albēruṇi,³ and that it assumed shape to such an alarming extent that it practically replaced spiritual religion and debased the original proselytising Hinduism, from about the eleventh century onwards, much affecting Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, and so on, which held sway over the country up till at least the rise of the Paramāras in the west and the Chandēllas in the east, along with the other dynasties represented by our inscriptions.

LITERATURE

A general survey of the literary activities of our period goes to show that the output was indeed admirable and embraced almost all branches of knowledge, though it lacked the charm, elegance and originality of the preceding age. It is also creditable that in spite of the disturbances caused by foreign attacks, scholars in our region continued their creative activity, following, of course, the pattern set in the previous age.

Making a regional survey of the literary contribution of the age, we find that to Mālwa goes the credit of producing ample literature, beginning from the time of Vākpati Muñja and ending with Arjunavarman, reaching its zenith during the reign of the illustrious Bhōjadēva. In this connection, we have first to note that the Paramāra rulers were not only great conquerors but also lovers of literature, and some of the kings belonging to this dynasty, for example, Vākpatirāja, Bhōjadēva, Naravarman and Arjunavarman, were poets of high rank. Ujjain and Dhārā were the chief centres of literary activities during our period.

The first of the kings to be mentioned here was Vākpati, a talented poet himself. From the Udaipur *prasaṁsī* we learn that he cultivated eloquence, poetry of high order and the art of reasoning and had a complete mastery over the lore of the Śāstras.⁴ Padmagupta, the court-poet of Sindhurāja, bestows fulsome praise on him, describing him as the very root of the creeper, Sarasvatī, and also saying that the later poets "walked on the path trodden by the prince among poets". The same poet also adds that "after Vikramāditya departed and after Sātavāhana went (died), the divine Sarasvatī found rest with this friend of poets".⁵

None of Vākpati's complete works has so far been available, though he is said to have written the *Muñjapratidēśavyavasthā*, which, from the title and some abstracts quoted in the *Asiatic Researches*,⁶ appears to have been a geographical description of India.

1 He was a contemporary of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. *Singhi Jaina Granthamālā*, Bombay, 1956.

2 *Hist. of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca, 1943, p. 353. His *Vratasāgara*, is yet unknown, see *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 330. Similarly, the *Tīrtha-khaṇḍa* of Hēmādri is still unknown. Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara, a minister of king Gōvindachandra of Kanauj, is also known to have written on allied subjects, for which see *S.E.* p. 332. In this connection it may also be noted that sections on all these cells, viz., *vratā*, *dāna* and *tīrtha* appear to have been added to the *Purāṇas* in the early part of our period, i.e., in about the 9-10th centuries. For details, see *A.I.K.* p. 203.

3 Sachan, II, p. 162.

4 No. 24, v. 13. In the records of the Western Chālukyas, his enemies, he is called *kavi-viśhā*; see, for example, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 11.

5 *N.S.C.*, XI, v. 93.

6 Vol. IX, p. 176.

Five stray stanzas composed by this princely poet are quoted by Jalhana in his *Sūktimuktāvalī*, three by Kshēmendra, one each in his *Auchityavichāracharchā*, *Suvṛittatilaka* and *Kavikarṇābharaṇa*, two by Vallabhadēva in his *Subhāshitāvalī*, one in the *Śārngadharapaddhati* and two by Dhanika in his commentary on the *Daśarūpaka*.¹ Besides these quotations, some verses attributed to him are found in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, *Bhōjaprabandha*, and some other works which are of doubtful nature.

The statement of Padmagupta which we have referred to above indicates that Vākpati was also a patron of men of letters, which is further justified by the fact that Dhanañjaya, the writer of the *Daśarūpaka* which is a work on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, his brother Dhanika who wrote the *Kāvyanirṇaya* and a commentary on the work (*Daśarūpakāvalōka*) and was also a minister under the king,² and Halāyudha, the commentator on Piṅgala's work on metrics in which he describes the king as 'the tree of paradise that grants the wishes of all applicants', were all his proteges. In addition to these, Dhanapāla, the author of the *Pāṇiyalachchhi* and the *Tilakamañjarī*, enjoyed the favour of this king, who conferred on him the title of *Sarasvatī*, as we learn from the last of the introductory verses of the latter of these works. Amitagati completed his *Subhāshitaratnasandōha* in the reign of Muñja in V. 1050, the date being equivalent to 20th December, 993 A.C. (See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 361, No. 168).

In the reign of Sindhurāja, the younger brother and successor of Vākpatirāja, Padmagupta alias Parimala composed the beautiful Sanskrit *mahākāvya* entitled *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*.³ The work consists of eighteen cantos and is based on a historical event. The story of the theme is Sindhurāja's aid to Śaṅkhaṇḍa, the Nāga ruler of Chakrakōṭya who sought it to defeat some of his enemies, and consequently, the wedding of the former's daughter with the Paramāra king.⁴

The work is in the classical style, and the skill in giving the story a poetic garb and successfully handling interlacing events are all noteworthy. The lucidity of the style along with the harmony of sound in the composition and the Vaidarbhi style of the composition often make the poet representing Kālidāsa himself. It is, however, peculiar that except that he mentions his father's name as Mrigāṅkadatta, as we read at the end of each of the cantos, the poet is silent about himself, as many other Sanskrit poets. In the eulogistic portion he shows special regard for Bhartriharya, whose time is not definitely known but who is known to have been the writer of an epic, the *Hayagrivavadha*. But, from Padmagupta's special interest shown for Hātakēśvara in the work, he may have been perhaps one of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas who are generally devoted to this deity; and it is also likely that his home was somewhere in Bastar which he describes so vividly, in detail. This conjecture, however, remains to be verified or refuted.

Padmagupta makes a veiled reference to Sitā, a poetess who composed songs eulogising Upendra, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty.⁵ Mērutuṅga, in his *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (p. 43) describes Sitā, a poetess, as a contemporary of Bhōjadēva. If both these scholars refer to the same poetess, she appears to have flourished before Sindhurāja closed his reign, on the evidence of Padmagupta, and to have been living

1 For the last of the references, see vv. 66-67 in *op. cit.*; and for the rest, *P.B.P.*, pp. 382-83. Vallabhadēva's statement that *Sri-Harshadēvatmaja-Vākpatēh* clearly shows that Harsha was the same as Siyaka, the father of Vākpati.

2 For the review of both these works, see A.B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 292-93. Dhanañjaya calls himself the *Mahāsādhyapāla* of Utpalarāja.

3 Vidya-Bhavan series, Varanasi, No. 66 (1963).

4 For the details, see *C.L.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. cxviii and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 101 ff.

5 *N.S.C.*, XI, v. 77.

at least for some of the initial years of Bhōja's reign.¹ None of her works has come down to us.²

Sindhurāja's successor was his illustrious son Bhōjadēva, a renowned versatile scholar, who was one of the three polymaths of the age, the other two being Kshēmendra of Kashmir (middle of the eleventh century) and Hēmachandra of Gujarāt (about a century later). We have over forty standard works to his credit on a variety of subjects including literature, poetics, grammar, lexicography, philosophy, Dharmaśāstra, medicine, astrology and astronomy, architecture and engineering.³ The Udaipur *prastāva* calls him *kavirāja* and in the Pānāhēdā inscription, a record of one of the junior branches of the Paramāras, he is mentioned with the epithet *vidyānidhi*.⁴

An account of some of his known works is given in the following paragraphs. In the domain of Kāvya, he composed the *Avanikūrmāśataka* the *Khadgaśataka* and the *Kōdanḍakāvya*, all inscribed on stones found by K.K. Lele in 1902-03 A.C., at Dhār. The first of these works is in Prākṛit, with *Om namah Śivāya* in the beginning in Sanskrit, and is engraved on two slabs, each containing 109 verses. The work is devoted to eulogise the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu. The first was written by Bhōja himself and the second by one of his protégés.⁵ The remaining two works are on small fragments, though the numbers of the last verse of the *Kōdanḍakāvya* can clearly be read as 575, as already remarked by Lele.⁶

Bhōja also composed the *Śṛiṅgāraṃjārīkathā*, which takes its name after Śṛiṅgāraṃjārī, a courtesan to whom advice is imparted by her mother in thirteen *prabandhas*. The work imitates the style of Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracharita*; and being narrated by king Bhōja himself, at the request of his admirers, it describes different forms of attachments of men and expounding principles to be followed by a courtesan. Each of the stories has a moral at the beginning and also towards the end.⁷

Another work in the field and generally ascribed to Bhōja is the *Champū-Rāmāyaṇa* also known as *Bhōja-Champū*.⁸ The work deals with the story of Rāma and is divided in six *kāṇḍas*, following the arrangement of Vālmiki, the first five of which were composed by Vidarbharāja, as stated at the end of each of the *kāṇḍas*, and the sixth by Lakshmanasūri, which also gives an additional information that the first five *kāṇḍas* were composed by Bhōja. But there is no evidence to identify this Bhōja with his namesake who was the Paramāra king. On the other hand, the expression *Vidarbharāja*, without

1 For a different view about her time, see P.B.P., p. 326.

2 In his work entitled *Sanskrit Poetess*, Part A, J.B. Chaudhury (Calcutta, 1941), cites four verses by Sitā. It is not known whether this poetess was the same as mentioned by Padmagupta.

3 For a list of his works, see *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, 418; II, 95; III, 90; H.A.L., XC VII f., H.S.P., 249 ff.; H.D., I, 276 ff.; *Bhōjarāja*, 60 f.; E.I., I, 231 f. and P.C.M., p. 50. Also see Madras University Publication No. 11, given in the beginning of the *Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa*, ed. by Raghavan. All these lists show some variations with reference to the number of his works. Also see P.B.P. p. 316, where Bhōja is stated to have written 84 works.

4 No. 24, v. 18 and No. 83, v. 16, respectively. In the latter of these records the name of the ruler is lost but from the description he was no other than Bhōja himself.

5 Ed. by Pischel in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 241 ff.

6 Also see A.S.I., A.R., 1934-35, p. 60.

7 Ed. by Kalpalatā Munshi in *Singhi Jaina Granthamālā*, Bombay, 1959. This work is not mentioned in the *Cat. Catalogorum*.

8 Nimayasagar Press, Bombay, Tenth Edn., 1956.

any name at the end of each of the first five *kāṇḍas*, tends to prove that the composer of this work was distinctly a different person.¹

That Bhōja contributed in the field of grammar is known from the expression *Śabdānām=anuśāsanam vidadhatā* in the verse quoted below while describing his *Rājamārtāṇḍa*. In his *Siddhāntakaumudī* Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita quotes him; and the Jaina grammarian Vardhamāna also bestows high eulogy on him in his *Gaṇaratnamahōdadhi*.² His work on grammar was very popular as we know from the *Prabhāvakacharita* which states that when Jayasimha Siddharāja triumphantly entered Mālwa, at Ujjain he was shown the different parts of the educational institution then existing and one of them contained extracts from Bhōja's grammar.³ Later on, at the request of Jayasimha, Hēmachandra compiled a grammar entitled *Siddha-Hēmachandra*, on the same lines.

Bhōja appears to have written a grammar of Prakrit also, as we know from a list seen by Jinavijayasūri.⁴

In the field of poetics Bhōja composed the voluminous work known as *Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa*.⁵ This work also deals with dramaturgy and establishes *śringāra* as the most prominent *rasa* which is further expounded by him in his *Śringāraprakāśa*, a treatise on poetics and dramaturgy in 36 chapters.⁶ Giving references to some earlier writers, it contains more illustrations in Prakrit than in Sanskrit,⁷ unlike the *Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa*.⁸

1 Following Aufrecht, D.C. Ganguly (*H.P.D.*), p. 278) and P. Bhatia (*P.B.P.*, p. 320) take the work as by the Paramāra Bhōja. But this view appears to be far from correct. It is not known if both these scholars had an approach to some other edition of the work, enabling them to ascribe it to the Paramāra king. Moreover, the only edition of the work that was accessible to me is as stated above, and it distinctly shows that the work has six and not seven *kāṇḍas* as mentioned by Bhatia.

2 For the former, see *atn. Bhōja* in *Vārtika* No. 2353 on Pāṇini, VII, iv, 68; and for the latter, Cf. Śālāturiya-Śakaṭ-āmgaja-Chandra-gōmī - dig-vastra-Bhaṭṭar-Hari-Vāmana-Bhōja-mukhyāḥ |
mēdhāvinah pravara-dipaka-kartri-yuktāḥ prājñair== nishēvita-pada-dvityā jāyanti ||

3 P. 185, vv. 70 and 74-78.
Anyadā Siddharājō = pi jivā Mālava-maṇḍalam |
samājagāma tasmai oh = śīsham darśaninō daduh || 70 ||
Anyad = Avanti-kōṭiya-pustakēshu niyuktakāp |
darśyamānēshu bhūṣēna praikṣhi lakṣhaṇa - pustakam || 74 ||
Kim = ētad = iti paprachchha Svāmī, tē = pi vyājñavān
Bhōja-vyākaraṇam hy=ētach = chhabda-śāstram pravartate || 75 ||
Asau hi Mālav=ādhiśō vidvach=chakra-śrōmanih |
śabd-ālankāra-dāvajña-tarka-śāstrāṇi nirmamē || 76 ||
Chikitsā-rāsa-siddhānta-rasa-vast-udayāncha |
aṅga-śikunīk-dhyātma-svapna-sāmodrikāny=api || 77 ||
Granthān nimitta-vyākhāna-praśna-chōḍamānta-ihā |
yivātīm ca = ayasatōnave = rtha-śāstram Mēghamālayā || 78 || (p. 185)

4 Vide *Purātatva*, a Gujarātī Quarterly, V. 1960, Āshādha, p. 419.

5 *Kāvya-mālā* Series, No. 94 (1934) and edited by Raghavan, Madras, 1963. From the *Pattan Catalogue Manuscript*, published in *G.O.S.* No. LXXVI, p. 37, we know that a commentary on this work (*Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa*) was written by Ajada.

6 Edited by V. Raghavan, Madras, 1963. Raghavan takes Bhōjadēva as the first writer who embraced both branches, viz., those of poetics and dramaturgy (see p. 9). Bhatia mentions another work of the same name on Grammar. See *P.B.P.*, p. 316, n. 8.

7 Dr. Raghavan holds that "Considering the subject dealt with in both the works, we can safely say, as far as poetics goes, the *S.P.* adds substantially nothing new which is not contained in a brief manner in the *S.K.A. self*" (*S.P.*, p. 70).

8 See *I.H.Q.*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 770 ff. where S.K. De has shown that Prakāśavarsha's *Rasārṇavāṇikāra* often imitates Bhōja in naming the *alankāras*.

INTRODUCTION

Bhōja has also given us works on lexicography. Kshirasvāmin, who wrote a commentary on the well-known *Amarakōṣa*, often refers to him as a grammarian, lexicographer and commentator. Another work of the king which is entitled *Nāmamālikā*, has been edited from a manuscript found at Mysore.¹

In the field of *Jyōtisha* the celebrated king wrote four books, viz., the *Rājamārtāṇḍa*, in which he styles himself a *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Rājamṛigāṅka*, in which he speaks of himself as being honoured by the host of kings (*urvī-pati-vrinda-vandita-pāda*), the *Ādityapratāpasiddhānta* and the *Vidvajjanavallabha*, in which he takes to himself the credit of vanquishing the king of Dāhala, Karnadēva,² who was his contemporary.

In the domain of Philosophy Bhōja's contribution is indeed versatile. His work entitled *Rājamārtāṇḍa* which is also referred to by Chandraprabhasūri in his *Prabhāvakacharita*, is an exposition of Patañjali's *Yōgasūtras* and in this work the author compares himself with the sage. One of the introductory verses of this work also give an indication of his composition on grammar and medicine.³

That Bhōja also wrote on the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy is known from citations of his work by Vāchaspati Miśra, in his *Sāṅkhyatatvakaumudī*. This work, which was entitled *Rājavārtika*, has not come down to us. His work in logic is known as *Nyāyavārtika*⁴ and in Yōga, the *Rājamārtāṇḍa*, as just seen, is an excellent commentary on Patañjali's *Yōgasūtras*. That he also composed a book on Dharmaśāstra, entitled *Pūrtāmārtāṇḍa*, is known from the extracts cited by Vijnānēśvara, in his *Mitāksharā*, a commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, and also by Jūmūtavāhana, a Bengali writer, in his *Dāyabhāga*.

Aufrecht also refers to Bhōja's *Chārucharyā* and *Vyavahārasamuchchaya*; but neither of these works of the king has come down to us.⁵ *Vyavahāramāñjarī*, which is a book on Dharmaśāstra, as the name suggests, is also ascribed to Bhōja and referred to by Vimalabōdha, a commentary on the *Mahābhārata*.⁶ His *Vyavahārasamuchchaya* is a work on *Jyōtisha* in relation to Dharmaśāstra.⁷ It is not known if this work is identical with the one mentioned just above.

In the domain of Śaivism, Bhōjadēva wrote not less than two books; they are the *Tatvaprakāśa* and the *Siddhāntasaṅgraha*,⁸ both of which were intended to expound the principles of Śaivism, particularly as followed in Kashmir and different from another school of Śaivism, known as Lakulīśa Pāśupata. He is referred to by Mādhava in his

1 Ed. by E.D. Kulkarni and V.D. Gokhale, Poona, 1955.

2 Noticed by R.G. Bhandarkar in his *Report on search for Sans. Manuscripts in the Bomb. Presidency*, Appx. B, p. 220.

3 The verse runs as follows:

Sadbhānam-anuśāsanam vidadhātā Pātañjalē-kurvātā vṛttim Rājamṛigāṅka-saṁjñakm api vyātanvatā vaidyake yā-
chētō vapushām malāḥ phanabhrītām bhatrer=va yēn=ōddhṛitas=tasya śrī-Raṇa raṇga-malla-nripatē=vāchō
jayanty=ujjvalāḥ ||

Also compare: Phanādhipatikṛit = sūtrēshu vṛttim vyadhāt-

4 Published by the Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1922. The work is also referred to by T.G. Kale in his work *Bhāratiya-Rasāyana Śāstra* (Marathi), p. 106.

5 Another work of the name of *Chārucharyā* was written by the Kashmirian polymath Kshēmendra, for which see S.E., p. 305.

6 A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 194.

7 See P.V. Kane's article in J.O.R. We have two other works of the same name, one of which was written by Harigaṇa and the other by Raghunandana, as enlisted in H.D., Vol. I, p. 631. Bhōjadēva Dhārēśvara, is styled āchārya by the *Mitāksharā* (on Yāj. S., III, 24) and sūri by the *Smṛitichandrikā* (II, p. 257), as also shown by P.V. Kane in H.D., Vol. I, p. 276. This shows how highly he was respected by later writers in the field of Dharmaśāstra.

8 For the first of these works, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, pp. 154 ff. also see K.C. Pande, *Abhinavagupta*, Varanasi, 1935, p. 107. The work is also published by the T.S.S.

Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha and also by Vidyāranya Yatindra in his commentary on the *Sūtasamhitā*.¹

Another voluminous contribution of Bhōja is his *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*,² dealing with *vāstuśāstra*, i.e., architecture and art-craftsmanship. Besides laying down the principles of civil engineering and civil architecture, the work gives the details of town-planning, house-architecture and temple-architecture. Under the first head the work speaks about surveying of land, selection of site and examination of soil (*bhū-parīkṣā*), system of measurement and knowing the different categories fit for temples, houses and palaces, gardens, etc., and in the end it gives detailed canons for building structures of secular and decorative architecture. The section contributed to building architecture includes in its treatment the construction of houses for the king, the nobles and the common men, with stables for horses and the other domestic cattle, the assembly-hall and quarters for the royal priest and other officials and the sundry requirements for equipping them, e.g., the art of mechanical construction (*yantra-ghaṭanā*), such as pleasure-machine, war-machine and aeroplane. It also lays down principles of constructing household furniture. The section devoted to temple-architecture³ is also dealing with sculptures and their iconometry.

Three works dealing with medicine are also ascribed to Bhōja. That he wrote the *Rājamrigāṅka* on this subject is evident from his own statement.⁴ The second of these works, viz. *Āyurvēdasarvasva* is unknown; and the third is the *Rājamārtāṇḍa*, which has already been referred to above and which devotes a portion of it to the subject. In this work Bhōja calls himself an expert in pacifying the enemy who has gone astray (*udvṛtta-śatru-praśamana-paṭu*), which is also equally applicable in case of a disease. The last of his works mentioned here has been published. Bhōja is often the source of Mādhavācharya in his *Rīgvinīśchaya* and also of Bhāvamitra in his *Bhāvaprakāśa*.⁵

Bhōja as a writer on music is referred to by Śārṅgadēva, a protege of the Yādava king Simhapa (1210-1247 A.C.), in his *Śaṅgitaratnākara* and in *Śaṅgītasāra* by mahārāṇā Kumbhā of Udaipur.⁶ In the field of administration he composed the *Chāṇakyanītiśāstra*.⁷ Another of his works entitled *Yuktikalpataru* deals with polity, elements of war, manufacture of weapons, ships and vehicles, construction of forts, and besides these, it contains useful information on diverse subjects of secular interest, such as construction of buildings, articles of furniture, and ornaments and precious stones.⁸ From references in this work it is also known that the king may have written separate works on the art of warfare and on curing the diseases of the cattle. On the same subject he has also given us a book entitled *Śālīhōtra* which deals with how to test horses and on curing their diseases.⁹

We have already mentioned above his works like the *Avanikūrmaśataka*, the *Khaḍgaśataka*, the *Kōḍaṇḍakāvya* which are all ascribed to the celebrated Paramāra king

1 *Ibid.*

2 Ed. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī in G.O.S., Baroda, Vols. XXV and XXVII (1924-25 A.C.).

3 It would indeed be an interesting attempt to see how far the characteristics laid down by Bhōja in his work have influenced temple architecture in Mālwa.

4 See the second foot of the verse quoted in p. 190 n. 3 In his H.D. Vol. I, p. 276, Kane took this work as on astronomy and also on medicine.

5 See Bhōjadēva's Literary Contribution (in Marāṭhī), by Lele and Gak, Dhār History Office, 1931, p. 7.

6 Cf. the verse:

Rudraḥ mānya-bhūpālō Bhōja-bhūvallabhas = tathā |

Paramardī cha Sōmēśō Jagadēka-mahīpatīḥ |

Quoted by G.H. Ojha in his *Rājputānā-kā-līhāsa*, I, p. 30. Also see p. 8 of *Śaṅgītasāra*, ed. by Kunhan Rājā, Jodhpur, 1940. For the first of these works, see E.H.D.P. 194, n. 33.

7 Edited by N.N. Law, Calcutta Oriental Series, 1917.

8 Referred to in *Notice of Sans. Manuscripts*, Vol. I, No. CCLXXI. Edited by Kvarachandra Shastri (Calcutta, 1917). Also see R.K. Mukerji, *Indian Ship Building*.

9 Edited by E.D. Kulkarni, Poona, 1953.

Bhōjadēva. They are all in Mahārāshṭrī Prakrit, which was gaining status and popularity in point of literary trends and expressions in our period and are good specimens of the literature of the time.

The composition of a work entitled *Vidvajjanavallabha* and dealing with questions based on diverse topics is also ascribed to Bhojarāja, as we learn from its colophon. The work is divided into different topics and is still unpublished. It is possible, though not certain, that it was written by the versatile Paramāra king of that name. The reading is *Śrī-Mahārājādhirāja-Bhōjadēvēna-virachitē*.¹

The review of his works shows that Bhōja was indeed a literary genius and composed works on several subjects - secular, religious and philosophical. He also established schools and equipped them with libraries, as we know from the *Prabhāvakacharita*, a reference to which has already been made above.² Some of his works, e.g., those on *aṅka*, *svapna* and *sāmudrika*, as mentioned in v. 77 of the passage quoted by us from the same work, have not come down to us, but despite this all, we find that he was regarded an authority on many subjects and he is quoted or referred to by several later writers and poets in their works on different subjects.³ His assembly was adorned with learned men and poets, whose works will presently be noticed. The *Prabhāvakacharita* compares his assembly to that of heaven.⁴ This reminds us of the normal practice of old, as laid down in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*,⁵ that kings should hold literary courts, in order to promote cultural activities. The *Śrīgāṛamanjarīkāthā*, as we learn from its introduction, was narrated by the king himself, at the request of the learned persons who assembled and approached him. An inscription from Dubkund tells us that the Jaina saint Śāntishēṇa defeated his literary opponents in an assembly presided over by the king.⁶ We have also an example of a Jaina scholar named Dhanēśvara sūri who gained victory in Bhōja's literary assemblage.⁷

The origin of holding literary discussions in the Paramāra court goes even earlier; for we have a case on record to show that one Jinēśvara (name?) won glory over his scholarly opponents in the assembly of Muñja. Here we may also cite a later example of the erudite Samudraghōṣhā sūri, who is said to have acquired efficiency in logic (*tarka-vidyā*) in Mālwa and had a retinue of his scholarly disciples; he pleased Naravarman in Dhārā by his lectures in the presence of learned audience.⁸

Competition in *samasyāpūrti*, i.e., completing a verse from its last words given, appears to have been very common in Bhōja's court. The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, and some other works that are available, record a number of instances, one of which may be mentioned here. Knowing that a Paṇḍita had all the members in his house learned, at Dhārā, Bhōja visited his place, and to test their ability, he gave certain words to each of them, asking them to compose a verse using those words at its end, which they all

1 *Descriptive Cat. of Sans. Ms.*, Tanjore, 1933, p. 7713, No. 11604. Earlier, it is mentioned in R.G. Bhandarkar's *Report on Sans. Ms. in the Bombay Presidency, 1882-83*, appx., B.B., p. 220.

2 Also see *op. cit.*, p. 156, vv. 131 and 143; p. 157, vv. 151 and 153.

3 Besides those already mentioned in proper places, he is also quoted in *Mitāksharā* and by Mallināthā, in his commentary on the *Śiṣupālavadhā*, V, v. 60 (twice). In his *Rasikasañjivani*, Arjunavarman quotes a verse, the authorship of which is ascribed to Bhōja. See the edition of Durgaprasad and Parab, 1819, p. 23.

4 Cf. "*Śrī-Bhōja-bhūpāla-sabhaṁ, svarga-sabhā-nibhaṁ*;" on p. 157, v. 163.

5 Ch. X (pp. 54-55).

6 No. 154, v. 28.

7 *Pattan. Cat. Manus.* published in G.O.S., No. LXI, p. 345.

8 *Cat. of Palm-leaf Manus. in Cambay*, Pt. II, published by Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1966, XV p.344, v. 8, and p. 353, vv. 8-10, respectively.

did successfully.¹ Another way of poetic competition was that of *praśnōttara*,² i.e., a verse full of questions and replies and composed on the moment; and still another was *ardha-kāvya-padya*,³ i.e., a verse each half of which contains a separate composition. All these verses, though some of them may have been later, go to indicate the interest of Bhōja in the propagation of knowledge.

Thus, while giving a sketch of Bhōja's literary activities, we may also answer the question, viz., whether he could find time to compose literary works and also to do justice to the other literary activities mentioned here when he was heavily burdened with the administration of the state and also engaged in protracted wars with the neighbouring kings. All these considerations might induce one to suggest that at least some of the works ascribed to him may have been composed by scholars and Paṇḍits of his literary assembly.⁴ Be whatever it may, but even accepting this view, his general supervision and getting the works prepared speak highly of his admirable scholarship and remarkable interest.

The above account goes to show that Bhōja made Dhārā a seat of learning and held his literary court in the *Sarasvatī-mandira*, also known as *Bhārati-bhavana* and *Śārada-sadana*, as it is mentioned in an inscription of Arjunavarman,⁵ and popularly known as *Bhōjaśālā*. He consecrated in it an image of the goddess of Learning. One of the members of his court was Sūrāchārya, as we are informed by the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*.⁶ Another member was Uvaṇa, a son of Vajraṇa of Ānandapura and a Vedic scholar. He wrote his *Mantrabhāṣya*, a commentary on the Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā, while living at Avanti.⁷ And still another member of the king's assembly was Chhittapa, a disciple of Kardamarāja.⁸ The *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadēva has a verse mentioning Chhittapa as a poet attached to Bhōja's court.⁹ A number of stanzas of this poet are found in the Sanskrit anthologies and some other works, for which attention may here be invited to the introduction of

1 Cf. Tava pratāpa-jvalanāj-jagāla Himālayō nāma nagādhirājah |
chaklra Mēnā virah-āturāṅgī pravāla-śayyā-śaraṇam śarīram ||

(As composed by the Poet's son),

and Jai yaha śanau jātyau dahanuhu ikku sarīru |
janaṇi viyambhi chintavai kavaṇ viyāvāṇ raviru ||

as by the poet's wife. As for the composition of the other members of the family, see P.C.M., *Bhōja-Prabandha*, pp. 27-28.

2 For example,

Kiyan = mātram jalam vipra? jānu = udaghaṇaṁ narādhipa |
katham s=ēyam = avasthā tē? na hi sarvā bhavādṛśāḥ ||

Ibid., p. 26. Here are questions and answers between a Brāhmaṇa and the king.

3 For example -

Bhoja: Yēśhārṇa vallaḥbhayā saha kṣaṇam = api kṣhipraṁ kṣapā kṣiyatē |
tēśhām śitakarāḥ śīl virahīṇām = ulk = ēvaṁ santāpakṛit ||

Kulachandra, a *digambara* sage, near by:

Asmākaṁ natu vallaḥbhā na virahas = tēn-ōbhaya-bhramśīnām = indū rājati darpaṇ-ākṛitir = asau n =
ōśhṇō na vā śitalaḥ ||

4 For example, see J.B.O.R.I., Vol. XVII (1935-36), pp. 358 ff. where P.A. Mankad compared the peculiarities both in the subject matter and method of treatment and has come to the conclusion that the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* and the *Yuktikalpavartu* have emanated from different individuals (p. 370).

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 96 ff.

6 Introduction, p. 2 (cf. *kṛita-Bhōja-samāśrayaḥ*).

7 R.G. Bhandarkar's Report on Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1882-83, Appx. IIA, p. 91. Also see Peterson's 4th Report on the same, p. 17 where two more works of the same scholar are mentioned, viz., a commentary on *Rigveda-pratīśākhya*, and another, known as *Nigamabhāṣya* on *Yajurveda*.

8 See *Prabhāvākcharita*, I, p. 149, v. 288.

9 As suggested by Dr. Raghavan in S.P., p. 7.

F.W. Thomas' edition of the *Kavindravachanasamuchchaya*.¹ This poet is known to us also from a stanza of the *Śaduktikarnāmrīta* (III, 36) and also as the composer of the *khaṇḍa-kāvya* inscription included here.²

Still another notable member of Bhōja's literary assembly was Dhanapāla, a son of Sarvadēva. He had migrated to Dhārā from Sānkāśya in Madhyadēśa, i.e., U.P. probably during the reign of Vākpati, by whom he was called Sarasvati.⁴ By caste he was a Brāhmaṇa, who, some time later, accepted Jainism. He had a great influence on Bhōja; and, as we are told, to satisfy his curiosity, he composed a prose romance entitled *Tilakamañjarī*. The work is written in a fluent narrative prose, occasionally interlaced with stanzas, but more often interspersed with long descriptive passages full of figures of speech and *double entendres* resembling those as found in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, appears to have inspired him. It reflects on the contemporary socio-political conditions prevailing during the time of Bhōja.⁵ The other works of this writer will be enumerated below, in the paragraphs giving an account of Jaina scholars and their works.

In addition to those mentioned here, there were some other scholars who composed their works in Bhōja's time, in Mālwa, and are either less known or unknown. By way of an example, we may mention the name of Daśabala, a Buddhist from Valabhī, who composed in the time of this king, a work on astronomy entitled *Chintāmaṇisāraṇikā*, which he claims can be grasped only by those who possess high intellect.⁶

Having given a glimpse of Bhōja's court-poets and literary scholars, we now pass on to the next princely poet who was Naravarman, the nephew of Bhōja and a talented person. He composed the Nagpur Museum stone inscription,⁷ which contains 58 verses, some of which are in metres rarely to be found in inscriptions, such as *Prūhvi*, *Rathōddhattā* and the still less known *Pañchachāmara*, and the composition, which is in the *Gauḍī* style, is ornate and highly embellished, often using figures of speech. Apart from its historical significance, the literary value of this inscription is inestimable. To this prince is also attributed the composition of the *Sarpabandha* inscriptions found at Dhār, Ujjain and Ūn.⁸ The poet Chittapa, about whom we have already spoken above in our account of the literary persons of the time of Bhōja, continued to live during the reign of Naravarman, when he composed the eulogy of the Sun-deity which is mentioned above.

After Naravarman closed his reign, the Paramāra supremacy was temporarily eclipsed due to the annexation of a great part of Mālwa to the Chaulūkyā empire, as we have seen in the political history of the kingdom, but from the time of Vindhya-varman who

1 Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1912, pp. 37-40, to which our attention was drawn by D.C. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 218.

2 This title also goes to suggest that Chittapa, who was an eminent court-poet, may have been then generally known as Kālidāsa, or this title may have been conferred on him by Bhōja himself, like that of Sarasvatī on Dhanapāla by Muñja. This suggestion gains ground from an extract from the *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, Madras Government, 1906, p. 1175, which states that the poet Nichula *alias* Yōgichandra, at the instance of his friend Kālidāsa, wrote a commentary on a work entitled *Nānārthasābdaratna*, written by Bhōja. This shows that the scholar Yōgichandra was honoured by the title Bhōja in imitation of the court of Vikramāditya in which Nichula and Kālidāsa also are known to have existed. And considering further that Bhōja may have called some of the scholars of his court by the names of Bāṇa, Māgha, etc., the riddle of the names of all these persons who flourished in different times but mentioned all together in the *Bhōjaprabandha* may be easily solved. This view was propounded by K.K. Lele in his article in *Marāṭhi*, on Bhōja's literary contributions, published from Dhār in 1931 (pp. 26-27).

3 No. 37.

4 *Kāvya-mālā Series*, No. 85, edited by Bhavadatta Śāstrī, Bombay, 1903 (2nd edn. 1938). See v. 53.

5 A thesis on this subject submitted by N.M. Kansara and approved by the M.S. University, Baroda, was kindly shown to me by Pt. K. Malavania, Director of the L.D. Institute, Ahmedabad. It is still unpublished.

6 *Journ. of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, Supplement, (1949-50), p. 15.

7 No. 33.

8 Nos. 25-27.

succeeded in recovering it and in reviving his kingdom in the closing years of the twelfth century, literary activities were resumed. Bilhana, the Minister of Peace and War under Vindhyavarman, composed the fragmentary Māṇḍū inscription which pays homage to Sarasvatī,¹ and two of Arjunavarman's and one of Dēvapāla's grants² were composed under his guidance. Another scholar who was patronised by Vindhyavarman was Sulhaṇa; he was living at the king's court at Māṇḍū and wrote a commentary on Kēdāra's *Vṛttaratnākara* in V. 1246 or 1190 A.C.³ He was a Dākṣiṇātya Brāhmaṇa, a son of Bhāskara and grandson of Vēlāditya, who was himself a good poet.

The eminent scholar of this period was Paṇḍita Āśādhara, who was a contemporary of Vindhyavarman, Subhaṭavarman, Arjunavarman, Dēvapāla and Jaitugidēva. He was a son of Sallakṣhaṇa, and born in the Sapādalakṣha country, he migrated to Mālwa when Muḥammad Ghori invaded the country in 1192 A.C. He wrote a commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaṭāṇkāra*, *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛidayōdyōta*⁴ which is a commentary on the *Vāgbhaṭa-saṁhitā* and some other works which are all of sectarian interest which will be noticed below along with the other Jaina works.

The reign of Arjunavarman, the grandson of Vindhyavarman, witnessed a revival of poetic activities. The king himself composed the *Rasikasaṁjivani*,⁵ which is a commentary on the *Amarukaśataka*; and the royal preceptor, Madana, who was highly honoured by him by the title *Bālasarasvatī*, composed a Nāṭikā, a play in four acts, two of which have come down to us. This work is entitled *Pārijātaṁajārī*, *alias Vijayaśrī*,⁶ and was staged for the first time in the temple of the goddess Śārada,⁷ at Dhārā, the capital of the Paramāras, on the occasion of Vasantōtsava and Chaitra-parva, to celebrate the victory of Arjunavarman over Jayasinha, his Chaulūkyā contemporary of Gujārāt, which is doubtless a historical reference. The language of the play is Sanskrit, or Prākṛit, as per requirement of the *dramatis personae*, following the rules of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and the style is lucid and charming. The poet appears to have been considerably influenced by Rājaśekhara, the author of the *Karpūraṁajārī*,⁸ and the last verse of his composition, beginning with *kimapi* (ll. 80-81) reminds us of the *Naishadhiyacharita* of Śrīharsha.⁹ Each of the acts in the work bears a distinct name. It is unfortunate that the latter portion of it is lost.

In his work the poet Madana informs us that he was a son of Gaṅgādhara and belonged to the lineage of Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas. He was the preceptor of Arjunavarman whom he describes as *trividha-vīra-chūḍāmaṇi*.¹⁰

Madana also composed another work known as *Bālasarasvatīya* or *Bālasarasvatikāvya*, which has not come down to us,¹¹ and the three inscriptions of Arjunavarman, referred to above. The *Rasikasaṁjivani* cites some of his verses; and, as already remarked by Hultsch, "he aided his royal pupil very materially in the compilation of the commentary on the *Amarukaśataka*".¹² Some of his isolated verses of the *subhāshita* type are included

1 No. 185

2 Nos. 47-48 and 51 respectively.

3 *B.U.J.*, Vol. XX (1951), XXI (1953) and XXII (1954), Part II of each.

4 R.G. Bhandarkar's report, *op. cit.*, for 1883-84, p. 104.

5 Edited by Durgaprasad and Parab, Bombay (1916). *Kāvyamālā*, No. 18.

6 Found by K.K. Lele in 1903, engraved on a black stone (1.73 by 1.54 metres) attached to the northern wall of the principal *Mehrāb* in the mosque with the writing turned inside. Edited by E. Hultsch in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 96 fff., and re-edited by S.K. Dikshit, in a booklet, Poona, 1963. The work is fragmentary, giving two acts only.

7 Called *Bhārati-bhavana* in L. 6 and *Śāradaḍvayāḥ sadma* in L. 3 of the play.

8 Compare l. 16 with *Karpūraṁajārī*, l. v, 18.

9 See Canto XII, v. 75.

10 In ll. 7 and 13. Cf. the expression in Nos. 47-49 but in the *Rasikasaṁjivani* we find only *vīra-chūḍāmaṇi*. In this work the king often states: "*asmad-upādhyāyina*", indicative of his reverence for his teacher Madana.

11 As known from Aufrecht's catalogue, Vol. I, p. 425.

12 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 98. In his *Rasikasaṁjivani* Arjunavarman quotes from the works of Bhaṭṭa Rudraṭa, Ānandavardhana, Vātsyāyana and Mammāṭa, etc., showing his erudition.

by Jalhana in his *Sūktimuktāvalī*,¹ and from this it appears that he also composed some other works which have so far not seen the light of the day.

In our study of religious conditions prevalent in Mālwa during the period, we have already noted that Jainism flourished all through this period in this region, side by side with Brāhmanism, and we find Jaina scholars incessantly intent on advancing literary activities. Here we have to note that the Paramāra rulers not only followed a liberal policy in matters of religious pursuits, but also extended their patronage to Jainism, as we know from the interest of Bhōja himself, to satisfy whose curiosity about *Jinadharmā*, Dhanapāla composed the *Tilakmañjarī* from that of Naravarman, who highly appreciated the extraordinary poetic talent of the Jaina scholar Jinavallabha,² and, to mention here one more example, from that of Arjunavarman, who had a very high regard for his teacher Madana, who was himself a disciple of the Jaina savant Āśadhara. Citing these examples, we note that under the royal support Jainism vigorously flourished in Mālwa. During the period under review, a number of Jaina writers came forward with distinctive literary contributions of their own, some of which, however, are merely of sectarian interest. With these general remarks, we now proceed to study some of the prominent Jaina writers of our age.

Chronologically, the first of these scholars was Dēvasēna who composed the *Damśaṇasāra*, a treatise on philosophy, while residing at Dhārā, on the tenth day of the bright half of Māgha in V.S. 990 (933-34 A.C.). The work is a compilation of the *gāthās* of his predecessors.³ We do not know whether this scholar can be identified with his namesake who is mentioned as the grandfather of Durlabhasēna, who, according to the Dubkuṇḍ inscription of the time of Vikramasimha and dated V.S. 1088, vanquished his opponents in a literary debate in the presence of the Paramāra emperor Bhōja, though a consideration of the chronology appears to favour the view. It is also of interest to note here that this work was composed exactly 15 years before Siyaka II issued his Harsōlā grant.

Dēvasēna is known to have composed two more works, viz., *Tattvasāra* (the essence of reality) and *Ārādhanasāra*, the essence of worship.⁴

Of the reign of Vākpati-Muñja we have at least three Jaina writers. One of them was Harishēṇa who wrote his *Dharmaparīkṣā* in V. 1044 or 987 A.C. The work is divided into 32 chapters each containing 20 to 25 verses.⁵ Another of these writers was Mahāsēna, a court-poet of king Vākpati and the preceptor of Sindhurāja's *mahattama* Parpaṭa, at whose request he composed the *Pradyumnacharita* in 14 cantos.⁶ And the third of these scholars, who was perhaps the most prominent among them, was Amitagati who claims to have been honoured by Muñja, Sindhurāja and Bhōja. He was a disciple of Mādhavasēna and a grand-disciple of Nēmishēṇa. He composed his *Subhāshitasandōha* in V.S. 1050 or 993 A.C. when Muñja was on the throne, as we learn from its v. 922.⁷ The work, which deals with Jaina ethics, contains 922 stanzas divided into 32 *sandōhas* (chapters), each containing about 20 to 25 verses dealing with topics of general interest, e.g., anger, greed, age, purity and so on, but being a staunch Jaina, he devotes 117 stanzas to the duties of a Jaina, which appears to be the main purpose of the work,

1 These verses are collected by S.K. Dikshit in his work mentioned above, on pp. 55 ff.

2 *Kharataragachchhapattāvalī*, for the exposition of which see *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI (1950), p. 224.

3 Nathuram Premi, published by *Jaina Digambara Granthamālā*, Bombay, V. 1974. The work is in Prakrit.

4 *Ibid.*, these too are in Prakrit.

5 There was also a Jaina ascetic bearing this name and known from the Arthūṇā inscription of V.S. 1159 (No. 86). On chronological grounds this saint appears to have flourished towards the close of the eleventh century A.C.

6 *Manikchand Digambara Jaina Granthamālā*, VIII, V. 1973. Edited by Ramprasad Śāstri. Also see *Jainaprasastisanigraha*, ed. by Jugalkishore, Delhi, 1954, Vol. I, pp. 43, 45.

7 Edited by Bhavadatta Śāstri and K.P. Parab in *Kāvya-mālā Series*, No. 82 (1903).

calling it *śrāvaka-dharma-nirūpaṇa*. The thirteenth *sandōha* (*śauca-nirūpaṇa*) contains in all 22 stanzas, out of which 17 are devoted to disregarding *ūrtha-snāna* and the rest 5 to internal purification (*antaḥ-suddhi*), which is explained, in it to be more important, and thus the work is of some interest for a student of the social history of the time. The significance of the work in the field of political history consists in showing Muṇja to be on the throne up to 993 A.C. and thus seven years after 986 A.C., his last known year when he issued the Gaonry grants.¹

Amitagati is known to have composed some more works, *Upāsakāchāra*, *Dharmaparikshā* (V.S.1070), *Pañchasaṃgraha* (1073) and a few others, some of which have not so far been discovered.² They are all of sectarian interest and of little interest from the historical point of view.

In our notice of the literary works of general interest produced during the period, we have mentioned the name of Dhanapāla who was a contemporary of Siyaka, Vākpati, Muṇja and Bhōja and who, under the influence of his brother Śōbhana, adopted Jainism. Besides the works mentioned above, he has some others to his credit. He wrote a lexicon of Prākṛit words entitled *Pāṭyalachchhīnāmamālā*,³ in V.S.1029 or 972 A.C. when Siyaka II sacked Mālkhēḍ. He also composed *Satyapuriya-Māhātmya*,⁴ a work containing 15 verses in Prākṛit, *Mahāvīrastuti*, *Rishabhapañchāśikā* and a commentary on *Chaturvīṃśatikā*, which is the best known work of his brother Śōbhana.⁵ Like some of Dhanapāla's works, this too is in Prākṛit, containing 96 verses devoted to pay homage to the 24 Tirthankaras, Yakshas, Vidyādēvi, Rōhipi, Kālī, Ambikā and some other deities. The work is interspersed with Sanskrit verses, using rare metres as *Dvīpādī*, *Narakuṭaka* and *Arṇyadaṇḍaka*.⁶ It was composed at Dhārā, where the poet was living with Dhanapāla and his sister named Sundarī, as he himself informs us in it.⁷ It is a devotional poem like some of the works of Dhanapāla and has little historical interest.

Bhōja's reign was also distinguished by some other poets and scholars of minor rank, viz., the poet Vira (V. 1019) and the court-poet Śrichandra, both of whom composed some poems in Sanskrit. Nēmichandra was a Jaina philosopher of the time.⁸ Prabhāchandra, another Jaina scholar who lived in Dhārā during the reign of Bhōja and his successor Jayasimha I, was one of the leading philosophers of the time; his work in the same field and known as the *Pramēyakamalamārtāṇḍa*, has come down to us.⁹ Another scholar, Nayanandin, composed the *Sudarśanacharita*, *Sakalavihivihāna* and *Ārāhanā*, which are all of sectarian interest.¹⁰ Jinavallabha, a contemporary of Naravarman, wrote the *Mahāvīrastōtra*, a poem consisting of 30 stanzas which are readable both in Sanskrit and Prākṛit (*sama-Sanskṛita-Prākṛita*).¹¹ All these works, some of which are still unpublished, are of sectarian value and of much little use for the historian.

In our sketch of the literary activities of the general type in our period, reference has already been made to the illustrious name of *Paṇḍita Āśadhara*, the most eminent

1 Nos. 6-7.

2 See *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa* (Hindī) by Nathurama Premi, p. 409.

3 Edited by G. Bühler, Göttingen (1879).

4 *Jaina-Saṃśōdhaka-Kāryālaya*, Ahmedābād, Vol. III, 3 (V. 1884).

5 Edited by H.R. Kapadia, all in the *Kāvyamālā* series, VII (1890).

6 *Ibid.*

7 As seen above, his father's name was Sarvadēva, according to the *Tilakamañjarī*, whereas the *Samyaktvasap-tati* (pp. 74-75) mentions him as Sōmachandra.

8 Most of these works are still unpublished and are mentioned only in some *Catalogues*. My reference to these three writers is from *P.B.P.*, pp. 129-130.

9 Edited by Mahendrakumar Śāstri, Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1941. In this respect, also see *P.B.P.*, p. 329, n-3, where some other works also are mentioned. They are all sectarian and worthless for historical purposes.

10 The first of these works is published by the Research Institute of Prakrit Jainology and Ahimsā, Vaiśālī, Bihar.

11 *Kāvyamālā* series, Vol. VII, Bombay (1890), pp. 97-101.

literary figure of the first half of the thirteenth century A.C. He was living in Nalakachchhapura, modern Nālchhā lying about 25 kms. south east of Dhār (Lat. 22° 26'N; Long. 75° 29' E.), and was a profound scholar. His education and scholarly activities made his residence a centre of erudition and teaching. Dēvachandra studied grammar under him; Viśalakīrti attained from him mastery over *Tarkaśāstra*; Vinayachandra learnt from him the doctrine of the Jainas, and Madana, the *Rājaguru* of Arjunavarman, studied from him the art of poetry.

A large number of works dealing with Jainism have also been attributed to this scholar; they consist of devotional poems, commentaries and the doctrine of Jainism.¹

The most famous and popular work of Āśadhara is the *Dharmāmṛita*, in which he describes the essence of *dharma* in nine chapters. This work is divided into two parts, called the *Sāgara-Dharmāmṛita* (meant for the householder) and the *Anagara-Dharmāmṛita* (meant for the recluse). On the first of these sections he also wrote a commentary, calling it *Bhavyakumudachandrikā*, in V.S. 1296 or 1239 A.C.; and on the second part, a commentary in V.S. 1300 or 1235 A.C., adding that it was completed in the reign of Dēvapāla's son Jaitugidēva. Both these commentaries were written, as he also tells us, in the temple of Nēminātha at Nalakachchhapura.² One of his works entitled *Jinayajñakalpa* was composed in V.S. 1285, i.e., 1228 A.C., *expired*, and another, *Trishashṭisṃṛitiśāstra*, in V.S. 1292 (1235 A.C.).³ Some of his works are historically useful, as we have mentioned in the section dealing with the political history of the time.

While coming to Mālwa from his native land, Āśadhara appears to have brought with him a retinue of friends and scholars. One of them was Dāmōdara, who composed a poem *Nēmināthachariu*, in honour of Nēminātha, the 22nd Tirthaṅkara, in V.S. 1287, i.e., 1230 A.C., in the reign of Dēvapāla. This savant was a son of Mālhaṇa, who belonged to the Khandēlvāl clan and he migrated to Salakhanapura, modern Salkanpur near Nālchhā, the new home of Āśadhara.⁴

Our general survey makes it amply clear that during our period the literary activities of the Jainas were intense, mainly in the sphere of literature and philosophy. This was all due to the royal patronage, as we have seen above.

Studying the literary pursuits conducted during the reign of the junior branches of the Paramāra kings, we find that the poet who wins our applause was Prahlādana, a Yuvarāja and younger brother of Dhāravarsha, lord of Chandrāvati. In the Mt. Ābū *praśasti* he is described as an incarnation of Sarasvatī,⁵ and the *Kīrtikāumudī* of Sōmēśvara represents him as Sarasvatī's son who relieved her sorrow caused by the death of Muñja and Bhōja.⁶ Eight of his verses are quoted by Jalhaṇa in his *Sūktimuktāvalī*, and an equal number of verses attributed to him are cited in the *Śārngadhara-paddhati*;⁷ and from this it is obvious that he was a poet of admirable ability. He wrote the *Pārthaparākrama*, a *vyāyōga* on a military spectacle, which was staged on the occasion of the festival of the investment of Achalēśvara, the titular deity of Mt. Ābū.⁸ The story is taken from the Virāṭa-parva of the *Mahābhārata*, describing the recovery by Arjuna of the cows of the Virāṭa king by defeating the army of the Kauravas who were the raiders. The theme of the *vyāyōga* has a reference to the repelling of the army of Prithvirāja III when he led a night attack on Dhāravarsha in the former's struggle with Bhīma II of Gujarat, as seen above, in the political history of the house.

1 For a complete list, see H.P.D., pp. 293 f. and P.B.P., p. 332, n. 2 and p. 333, n. 2.

2 See *Virasvāminādhara-Granthamālā*, Delhi (1963), cf. Nalakachcha-purē śrīmān = Nēmicaitya-ālayē etc.

3 Vide *Jaina-Praśasti-Samgraha*, *ibid.*, p. 139.

4 *Ibid.*, *Pushpa* XIV, part II, p. 138.

5 v. 14.

Śrī-Prahlādana-dēvō-bhūt dvitayēna prasiddhimān |
putratvēna Sarasvatyāḥ patitēna jaya-śriyāḥ || v. 14
Śrī-Bhōja-Muñja-ḍuḥkhārtī ranyāṣṭ vartayātā katham |
Prahlādanēna s-āhlādā punaś-chakrē Sarasvatī ||

6 v. 15.

7 The verses are cited in G.O.S., No. IV, (1917) appx. 1 and 2, respectively.

8 Edited in G.O.S., *ibid.*, Baroda (1917).

The drama has the merit of smooth composition and clearness, as claimed by the poet himself.

Regarding the literary activities carried on during the reigns of the other royal dynasties of our period, the information is rather meagre and restricted only to that of the Chandēllas. One of these few literary compositions that may be mentioned here is the *Prabōdhachandrōdaya*, a drama written by Kṛishṇa Miśra in six acts, the theme of which is to show "the defence of the Advaita form of Viṣṇu doctrine". The form is allegorical and the work describes the victory of Discrimination (*Prabōdha*) over Confusion (*Mōha*), which is, indirectly, the victory of one Gōpāla over the Kalachuri king Karṇadēva who had routed the Chandēlla army during the reign of Dēvavarman, the immediate predecessor of Kirtivarman, capturing a large part of his kingdom.¹

The drama gives Gōpāla the entire credit of saving the Chandēlla sovereignty in this catastrophe and reinstating Kirtivarman on the throne; and from this it is evident that Gōpāla, who is otherwise unknown was a military leader who organised the campaign of the Chandēlla king and won the victory for him. The work also describes Gōpāla in the expression "on whose lotus-like feet were reflected the crestjewels of the circle of the feudatory princes",² which also shows that he was the head of the feudatory princes, who too may have sent their forces in the struggle which appears to have been very fierce when it describes Karṇa as a powerful infatuation (*mōham-iv-ōrjitam*); and in this hour need Gōpāla, who is said to have resembled Discrimination (*Vivēka*), rose to the occasion and routing Karṇa, rescued the Chandēlla kingdom.³

The victory appears to have been glorious; for, we further learn from the drama that it was staged before Kirtivarman who could not have been offended thereby, as it was true.⁴

About the literary activities of the later period, we find that Paramardīn, who was on the Chandēlla throne from 1116 to 1202 A.C. was himself a poet. He composed the long inscription paying homage to Tripurāri (Śiva).⁵ We also have some minor types of dramatic specimens of his time, all written by his minister Vatsarāja, who is, however, unknown from epigraphic sources. No definite date can be assigned to any of these works, but they seem to have been deliberately composed to illustrate six out of the ten types of Sanskrit drama.⁶

One of the series mentioned above is the *Karpūracharita*, a *bhāṇa* or a comic monologue in which the gambler Karpūra describes his revelry, gambling and love with a courtesan. Another of these works is the *Hāsyachūdāmaṇi*, a *prahasana* or a farce in one act, in which a preceptor of the Bhāgavata school is ridiculed. Resembling the other comic specimens of this type, it embodies no action, for it is produced only with the sole aim of creating laughter. Another work that we owe to the same writer is an *ihāmṛiga* called *Rukmiṇīharana*, which is in four acts, dealing with, as the name suggests, the success of Kṛishṇa in taking away Rukmiṇi and thus depriving Śiśupāla of her, his promised bride. Still another work of Vatsarāja is the *Tripuradāha Dima*, dealing with the well-known destruction of the capital of Tripurāsura, by Śiva, who is for this reason called Tripurāri. It is in four acts. Vatsarāja has also given us a *Śamvakāra* entitled *Samudramathana* which presents the story of churning the ocean by the gods and the demons. It is in three acts; and still another specimen known as the *Kirātārjunīya-Vyāyōga*, which deals

1. For the story of the drama, see A.B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama* (Oxford, 1924), p. 254 f.

2. See *Prologue*, 1. 3.

3. *Vivēka* - ēva nirjitya Karṇam mōham = iva Śri-Kirtivarman-nripatē-bōdhasy-ēv-ōdayaḥ kṛitah 1, v. 9. Also compare No. 113, v. 26 and No. 145, v. 3.

4. This was first suggested by H.C. Ray in his *D.H.N.I.*

5. No. 140.

6. All edited in *G.O.S.*, No. VIII (1918), Baroda.

INTRODUCTION

with the well-known story of Śiva's struggle with Arjuna, as described in Bhāṛavi's *Kirātārjuniya*. The play is heroic. It was written later than the other five plays and in the reign of Trailōkyavarman who was Paramardin's successor, very probably representing the king's success over his enemies.

Attention may be drawn here to a Jaina work composed during the reign of Paramardin. A verse in the *Dhanyakumāracharita*, written by a Jaina scholar named Guṇabhadra, reads as follows:-

Śāstram-idaṁ kṛitaṁ rājyē rājñah śrī-Paramardinaḥ
purē Vilāsa-pūrvē cha jin-ālayair-virājite ¹

From the mention of Vilāsapura, which figures in three of Paramardin's grants,² we can safely identify both these rulers.

We may conclude this section with the remark that apart from the works mentioned above, we have specimens of genuine poetry composed by court-poets who wrote in highly cultivated style using figures of speech like *Upamā*, *Utprekshā*, *Rūpaka*, *Vatirēka*, *Apahṛuti*, *Atisayōkti*, and what is particularly noteworthy, the *double entendre* (*Ślēsha*), which is possible only in Sanskrit and which has made it an ideal language.³ Some of the best specimens of the epigraphic literature of the time, all embellished with flight of fancy and imagination, are:- The Udaipur *prasthā*, the Nagpur Museum stone inscription, the eulogy of Sun-god by Chhittapa, the Māndhātā grant of the time of Jayavarman, the Vasantagaḍh inscription of the time of Pūrṇapāla, the Arhūṇā inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja, The Khajurāhō inscription of Yaśovarman and the renewed Khajurāhō inscription, the Kālāñjar stone inscription of Paramardideva, the Ajayagaḍh stone inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva, and the Gwālior stone inscription of Mahipāla⁴ - all giving us best specimens of the literature of the time. It may, however, be remarked here that the end of our period was marked by a process of decline when literary productions began to be merely imitative of the earlier models, lacking "vigour, inspiration and originality". Even the inscriptions which we have mentioned above as the best specimens of Sanskrit are examples of the stereotyped literature of the preceding age; and as rightly remarked by a scholar, "the creative age was over by the tenth century, and the process of decadence had already set in", not merely in our region but throughout the country.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In our attempt to portray the economic structure of the period under review, we shall, as in the other cases, mainly confine ourselves to the epigraphic sources, and on very rare occasions we shall refer to the material available in literature, which is so ample as to form a separate sort of inquiry. And while doing so, we shall, first of all, note the wide economic variations owing to the geographical and the other factors existing in the different sub-divisions of the vast region represented by our inscriptions. These sub-divisions consist mainly of three different parts, viz., (1) the fertile tract of Mālwa, roughly stretching to the north of the Narmadā and bounded by the Chambal on the west and the Bētwa on the east; (2) the Vindhya region, extending along the lower reaches of the Yamunā and comprising mostly of a wild area intercepted by hills, deep ravines and narrow valleys, with its comparatively poorer soil; and (3) to the latter's west and north-west, the region around Gwālior, which stretches to the vast Gangetic plains in its north and east, and presents, more or less, the features of both these regions. We have also to note that with all these topographical variations there are other factors also, e.g., those

¹ *Jainaprasastisamgraha*, Delhi, 1954, Vol. I, pp. 55 and 117.

² Nos. 129, 132, 134.

³ See *S.E.*, p. 300.

⁴ Respectively, Nos. 24, 33, 37, 60, 62, 86, 98, 114, 125, 140, 149 and 155.

of the natural resources, of the kinds of the soil, of the river system and along with these of the climatic conditions, owing to which this vast region presents wide economic differences.

The main bulk of people lived in villages, and the chief support of life in our period was agriculture, as it was throughout India from very early times. Therefore, while dealing with the rural economy, it is necessary to say a few words regarding the ownership of land which has been a theme of keen controversy among scholars. Here we have to note that the peasants, who had their permanent settlements in the villages, continued to till the land without any disturbance so long as they paid land-revenue to the government. It is thus evident that the ownership of land was vested in the crown. The same is also shown by grants made to temples, monasteries and individuals, when the king explicitly announced his order to the residents of the village to pay to the donee of the royal charter all the dues that he used to receive.¹ From this it is evident that what was transferred in such cases is only the royal prerogative of demanding the land-revenue and the other dues, in cash and kind. What thus appears to be transferred in all such cases is only the simple possession, with privileges to demand the revenue which the peasants formerly used to pay to the king, who alone continued to retain the absolute ownership or proprietary right. The copper-charters issued on the occasion were only to constitute the legal evidence of this simple possession, as just seen. The donees were also probably exempted from paying the land-tribute and the other taxes which the residents of the village had to remit to the royal treasury from time to time. In case of the grants of villages, the donees were entitled to receive the royal revenue or dues in the form of *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara*, etc., the details of which we shall see below.

Some of the Chandēlla grants put the relevant details of the donated village, more exhaustively, as in the following words: "with water and land, with mango and *madhūka* trees...., with stones and bricks, with treasure of mines and salt-pits," etc., etc.,² and they also record the king's instructions that "the donee may cultivate the land himself, or through an agent, may donate or sell it," and so on. These details tend to show that the king also transferred to the donee the ownership of the soil, and, in view of this, we may also hold that in cases where such details are missing, it was only the royal share of the revenue, and not the ownership of the soil which was transferred.³ None of the Paramāra inscriptions is explicit on this point.

So far we have no record to show that the donee had the right of turning out the cultivators of the field donated to him, so long as they continued to pay the dues to him, or of driving out the people of a village or of disallowing them to enjoy the privileges as hitherto. In such cases it too was not obligatory on the donee to make arrangements for the lodging and boarding of the royal officers and officials, as we learn from the expression *a-chāṭa-bhāṭa-praveśyam* or the like, which is generally found in royal charters making donations of villages. And in the case when villages were donated, the donee was also entitled to the legitimate royal share of the dues from minerals, grass or trees and such other objects mentioned in the grants. He was, of course, not empowered to impose any new tax upon the people of the donated area; and this also shows that the king was the absolute owner of such lands and villages.

The Bhārat Kalā Bhavan grant of Madanavarman⁴ is an important document to show the king's absolute ownership of land, and the relevant details of it may be considered here. From this charter we learn that one Dikshit Nārāyaṇasarma received from the king some grants in exchange for two other plots of land which were formerly in his possession,

1 Cf. the expression *sarvam-bhūyam samupanīṭavyam*, for example, in No. 108, and in many of our grants. Also *bhāga-bhōga-hiranyādī-dadānāḥ sukhām-āryatām* in No. 100, v. 10.

2 For example, see Nos. 108, 118 and 151. The details in all these grants show minor variations.

3 In this connection, also see *H.D.*, Vol. I, p. 383.

4 No. 119.

one of which was donated by Nādūka, a priest attached to one of the queens of Madanavarman, and the other by Sōmēka, a son of the *Thukkura* Śrīpāla. The record further states that another Brāhmaṇa of the name of Sahajūśarman received from the king a land in exchange of the one which was already in his possession in two villages and donated to him respectively by the chief queen and another queen, both of Madanavarman, with his prior approval.¹ A consideration of all these details goes to show the absolute ownership over the land of the king, who alone could make all the exchanges mentioned in the record and also issue fresh documents in this respect.

That this practice was current in Mālwa also is shown by the Nagpur Museum stone inscription which states that Naravarman exchanged two villages donated previously by his brother Lakshmadēva, who was then only a governor, in favour of Lakshmidhara;² and that the king's permission had also to be obtained by any of his subordinates intending to donate a village is also shown at the instance of Anayasimha, a *sādhana* under the Paramāra king Jayasimha-Jayavarman, as we learn from one of the grants from Māndhātā.³

Here we may also consider a few instances from some other regions to throw light on the problem in hand. The Bhinmāl inscription of V. 1217 states that Krishnarāja, a ruler belonging to the junior branch of the Paramāras, donated a field for the maintenance of a temple which was repaired by the residents of the place;⁴ and the *Mahārāja* Vikramasimha of the Kachchhapaghātadynasty presented some land, along with some other objects, to a temple built by some *gōsthins* in his capital Dubkund.⁵ The Ingnōdā stone inscription of V. 1190 records the donation of a village named Āgāsiyaka, to a temple, by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vijayapālādēva, with the clear instruction that whatever be obtained by way of the revenue and the other income from the village should be presented to the deity in future.⁶ All these instances lead us to conclude that it was indeed the prerogative only of the king to make donations of land or villages.

We have of course, records of donations made by queens and some of the subordinates of the king; all these appear to have been made from what constitutes the personal property of the donor, as we learn from the expression *sva-bhuktāv-āyātām*.⁷ It would thus appear that in all such cases the king's prior consent was not necessary.

There are, however, a few instances which do not appear to be governed by the rule of the king's prerogative of the ultimate ownership of land, e.g., when he donated a plot of land in favour of a temple, or an *agrahāra* village in favour of Brāhmaṇas, with the explicit mention that "it is for the use of the public, or of the Brāhmaṇas".⁸ In such cases it appears that the king no longer desired to retain his absolute right over the land or the village. We have another type of instances pointing to the corporate ownership of a certain community over a land, as we note from the expression *Brāhmaṇabhūmir=īyam*,⁹ and the case appears to have been similar. It is also interesting to note here that a step-well excavated at Vasantagadh by a dowager queen Lāhijī, and another by the *gōsthikas* of Bhādūṇḍ, clearly mention in the respective records that "they were presented to the public."¹⁰ Nevertheless, from the expressions used in the respective records,¹¹ the wells appear to have been properties of joint village-ownership.

1 As known from the expression *asmad-anumatyā dattatvāt* in *ibid*, 1. 27.

2 No. 33, v. 55.

3 See the expression *Dhārādhipān-āmijātāh* in No. 60, 1. 87.

4 No. 92, 1. 18.

5 No. 154, 1. 56.

6 No. 158, 1. 9.

7 See No. 62, v. 31. Also note *bhūjan vrittīm* in No. 15, v. 6.

8 No. 63, 1. 14.

9 No. 68, 1. 8.

10 As n. 8 above.

11 *Saisha-janasya* (for *sāṣṭaj=janasya*) in No. 62, v. 30, and *īyam vāpi lōk-ḍesaṅgē kṣiptā* in No. 63, 1. 14.

We have two more examples, both from the Vindhya region, in favour of supporting the crown-ownership of land. One of them is the Kālāñjar stone inscription which records the donation of two *halas* of land by Kirtivarman's preceptor Vāsudēva, to a mason who constructed the *mandapa* of a temple at that place, probably by way of wages. And though as a *Rājaguru* he exercised great influence over his pupil-sovereign, he beseeched the royal officer in charge of the affair (*Śrī-karaṇ-ādhipa*) to give his (formal) consent to the donation (and also to regularise it).¹ The other case to be considered here relates to the mortgage of the village Alaurā by the ascetic Śāntaśiva, a son of the *Rājaguru* Vimalaśiva, to the *Rāñaka* Dhārēka, in the reign of Trailōkyavarman.² As a son of a *Rājaguru*, this ascetic too may have exercised great influence on the reigning king, but what is particularly noteworthy is that the document, besides mentioning the king, records the names of the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the *Koṭṭa-pāla* and the *Arthalēkhin*, who were all then "present on duty". All these three officers are concerned with the affair, and they are named here as royal representatives to accord their final sanction to the transaction. In the end the record also cites the names of some persons as witnesses, including two *paṭṭakilas* and two *Thakkuras*. All these details indicate that the consent for mortgaging the village through its leading men was also indispensable in such cases. This sort of consent appears also to have been implied while drafting the Ingnōdā inscription of Vijayapāla and the Rōpi grant of Dēvarāja³ of Bhinmāl, both of which end with the names of witnesses, some of whom are royal officials and the others leading men of the villages; this also shows the usual practice of announcing the affair to all concerned.

Theoretically, the subordinate rulers were not empowered to donate land, as we have seen above, but in actual practice, we find that some of them actually did so. Siyaka, as a Rāshtrakūṭa feudatory, three of the feudatories of Bhōja, viz., Vatsarāja, Jasōrāja and the *Rāñaka* Amma, and the Abu ruler Dhārāvarsha, who was a subordinate of the Chaulūkyā throne, are some of the well-known examples.⁴ It would thus appear that in practice the privilege of making land-grants was enjoyed by some of the higher types of feudatories and was related to the degree of dependence or semi-independence of the feudatory rulers, of whom there were more types than one.

In our inscriptions we have references to the following types of land:- (i) *kshētra*⁵ (cultivable), (ii) *ūshara* (barren),⁶ (iii) *kachchhila* or *sakēdāra*⁷ (contiguous to water), (iv) *sādvala* or *grāsa*⁸ (grassy, for grazing cattle), and (v) *vāsa*⁹ or habitable). Besides these two more kinds, viz., *aprahata* (fallow) and *śarkarā* (full of sand or pebbles or both) are also known from literature.¹⁰ Hēmachandra mentions classification of fields according to their qualities, viz., those which are fertile, those unfit for cultivation, those lying fallow, and those with a saline soil.¹¹ He also mentions some other classifications of land, for

1 No. 110, vv. 4 and 6.

2 No. 143.

3 The first of these has already been referred to above and the second is No. 91, ll. 19-20. The names of witnesses are recorded here in addition to the usual practice of announcing the grants in the presence of all.

4 See No. 1-2, 8, 15-16 and 67, respectively.

5 In our inscriptions sometimes the word *kshētra* is used (as in No. 9), sometimes *kshētra-bhūmi* (as in No. 21) and sometimes only *bhūmi* (as in No. 73). Incidentally, here we may draw attention to Basak's and Pargiter's interpretation of the term *kshētra* to denote a cultivable field. See respectively, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 348, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. for 1910, p. 205 (text, p. 204) as S.K. Maity has pointed out in *Economic Life of Northern India* (Calcutta, 1957), p. 23.

6 No. 100, l. 10, and No. 107, l. 13.

7 No. 8, l. 10, and No. 83, l. 32.

8 No. 68, l. 21.

9 No. 130, l. 14.

10 See S.K. Maity, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

11 *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, as referred to in *S.E.*, p. 516. The use of *hala* for measurement of land, so often found in our inscriptions, probably may be taken as also implying that the fallow ground had to be brought under cultivation.

example, according to the crops grown on them and also according to the seeds sown on them.¹ Almost the same sort of classification of soil is given in the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* by Halāyudha (II, 3-6) who was a protege of Vākpati-Muñja.² And from all these references it appears that these classifications may have been current in Mālwa and the adjoining regions.

The different plots of agricultural land were marked either by natural or by artificial barriers, whether in Mālwa or in Bundelkhand.³ We have a few instances from the adjoining areas of Rājasthān where fields were marked on all the four sides by images of cows.⁴

The system of measuring land was not uniform throughout the vast region represented by our inscriptions, and we have instances to show that it differed from one to another locality. For example, in Mālwa proper, in the adjoining region of Bānswādā to its north-west, and in that of Nāsik to its south, *nivartana* was the standard measure of land.⁵ This term has been differently interpreted by scholars, for example, whereas according to D.C. Sircar, it is 240 X 240 square cubits, i.e., about 3 acres,⁶ and according to Pran Nath it is equal to one acre,⁷ Mirashi, referring to Kautilya (II, 20) and the *Lilāvati* (I, 6), has pointed out that several *nivartanas* appear to have been in vogue, e.g., according to the former it is 20 rods in length and in breadth, i.e., 400 sq. rods, and according to the latter, it is 30 by 30 *dandas*, i.e., 900 sq. rods.⁸ Mirashi's statement is supported by Bālabhāṭṭa's commentary on *Mitāksharā*, which itself is a commentary on the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti and which mentions two kinds of *nivartanas* - one measuring 200 *hastas* and the other 100 *hastas*.⁹

Fortunately, we have two records to enlighten us with reference to its actual measurement as then current in Mālwa. The Dēwās and the Kadambapadraka grants,¹⁰ both of which were issued by Naravarman, respectively in V. 1152 (1095 A.C.) and V. 1167 (1110 A.C.), mention a *nivartana* equal to 42 rods lengthwise and as many rods breadthwise, and it is also stated there that the measuring rod was marked by 96 *parvas*. A *parva*, as we know from our ancient sources, is the smallest unit of practical liner measurement being almost equal to three-fourth of an inch;¹¹ and working on this basis, the length of a rod can be calculated to be 72 inches or 6 feet or 18.28 metres. Accordingly, the area of a *nivartana* would be 6X6 sq. feet 42 times or 42X42 *dandas*; and taking the two *dandas* on either side as to be left fallow as a boundry mark of the plot,¹² we get 40 by 40 sq. *dandas* for actual sowing, which is perfectly in accord with that which was then current also in the neighbouring region of Nāsik under the early Kalachuris.¹³

1 *Ibid.*

2 Among his classifications we also find black and yellow soil, reminding us of the expression *pita-taila-* in No. 112, l. 4 etc. and *pita-parvata* in *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 280, v. 10.

3 For example, see No. 16, l. 17 (for Mālwa) and No. 118, ll. 8 ff. (for Bundelkhand). In the former of these regions it is still known as *Kānkada-padaṭi*, as we have so often seen.

4 No. 64, l. 13, and No. 68, ll. 12-13.

5 See No. 30, l. 18 and No. 34, l. 13 for Mālwa; No. 11, l. 16 for Bānswādā; and No. 16, ll. 18, 20 and 22 for Nāsik.

6 *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 300. Also see his *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi, 1965), p. 409.

7 *A Study in the Econ. Conditions of Anc. India*, p. 83. This view, along with that of D.C. Sircar, is also quoted by P. Bhatia in *P.B.P.*, p. 308.

8 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 43, n. 6.

9 *Op. cit.*, Madras edition (1912), p. 251.

10 Nos. 31 and 34, respectively.

11 *Cf. Mārka. Purāṇa*, Ch. xlv, pp. 38 f.

12 It is called *kānkada-padaṭi* in Mālwa, as we have expressed a number of times.

13 *Cf. C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 12, l. 18.

From all that is stated above, it would also appear that the standard measure of *nivartana*, which was already in vogue in the region around Nāsik, was borrowed by the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa, and in this region too its use gradually disappeared after the reign of Naravarman (1134 A.C.), subsequent to which we have not even a single inscription using this word. It may also be stated here that we have no knowledge of the standard measure of land then current in the region under any other dynasty.

Leaving a few cases of the restricted use of *nivartanas*, as just seen, land was generally denoted in terms of *halas*, a *hala* signifying as much of it as could be ploughed in a day by a single pair of bullocks.¹ The donated plot of land often shared the same peculiarities as of the other plots under cultivation in a village,² but being virgin or even uneven, it had to be made cultivable by such means as may be devised on the occasion. Often it was bounded by streams or rivulets, low lands, trees and such other marking boundaries as in the neighbouring village.

One of the Paramāra grants has the expression *Brāhmaṇa-māpyakīya-bhū-hala*,³ showing that there existed some sort of tables for measuring a *hala* and probably also that a Brāhmaṇa was generally entrusted with this affair at least in that particular locality.

Along with mentioning the intended extent of and in the form of *halas*, occasionally the amount of seed required to sow it was also expressed in our inscriptions. The Dēpālpur grant of Bhōjadēva,⁴ for example, records the donation of four *halas* of land to be sown with 34 *prasthas* of seeds; and one *prastha*, as we know from the dictionaries, was equal to 4 *kuḍavas* or 48 handfuls, as a measuring capacity. That these measurements also varied in the different localities in the region is also shown by our records stating the extent of a *kuḍava* "as it was then current in the Nilagiri-maṇḍala."⁵

The Chandēlla grants more often record the quantity of seed required to sow the land measured by a *hala*, e.g., 7 1/2 *drōṇas* of seed required to sow a plot measuring 10 *halas*, as in the Augāsi grant of Madanavarman and also in the Pachbār grant of his grandson Paramardin;⁶ and this measurement is fully corroborated by the Mahōbā grant of the latter of these kings which mentions exactly half the number of *halas* (i.e., 5) with half the quantity of seed (3 3/4 *drōṇas*).⁷

That this practice was in vogue also in the region around Gwālior is known from the Dubkuṇḍ inscription of the time of the Kachchhapaghāta ruler Vikramasimha, which mentions a field to be sown with four *gōṇis*.⁸

We have no means to ascertain the sowing capacity or the actual procedure of measuring a field as it was then current in any other region, but we may presume that almost the same practice prevailed there also.

In our records we also find the use of some other words to denote the extent of land, but we have no means to know their precise meaning. For example, the word

1 For Mālwa, see Nos. 8, 13, 21 and 55; for Bundelkhand, Nos. 110, 118, 125 and 126; and for the Sirohi region, Nos. 68 and 82. This measure is not found in inscriptions from any other region. As Mirashi has already recorded, this is said to be equal to five acres. See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. clxxi.

2 *Grāma-sāmānya-bhūmēḥ* in No. 13, l. 12.

3 In No. 39, l. 1.

4 No. 13, l. 13.

5 See No. 45, l. 27.

6 See respectively, No. 118, l. 7, and No. 131, l. 8. Also see No. 130, ll. 11-12.

7 No. 130, ll. 11-12.

8 No. 154, l. 56. *Gōṇi* is a measure of capacity equal to a *drōṇa* or 4 *āḍhakas*, or 1024 handfuls. Also see S.K. Maity, *op. cit.*, p. 39. The measures from Bundelkhand are all for *kōdrava*, a kind of millet that the poor eat, and the seed is sown broadcast. For the system of measuring cultivable land in terms of its sowing capacity in the neighbouring regions in our period, see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. clxxii; *E.C.*, XII, 40 (1040 A.C.); *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 142 (1162 A.C.), etc.

INTRODUCTION

pada is used in two of the Chandēlla grants,¹ and this word, along with two others, viz., *amśa* and *varṇaka*, is mentioned in some of the grants from Mālwa.² Of these all, *pada* or *pāda* is known to be the length of a human foot, which is approximately 12 *anṅulas* or 9 inches or 22.86 cms., and the measures denoted by the other two terms are not fixed. All these words appear to have denoted parts, the dimensions and the precise significance of which may have been precisely settled at the time of donation, as desired.

One of the Chandēlla inscriptions also mentions *hasta* as the unit of measure in connection with housing land;³ it is conventionally the distance from the tip of the elbow to the middle finger of an adult and it is said to be equal to 24 *anṅulas* or double of *pāda*.⁴

We have no reference showing the methods of agriculture, but from the numerous references to *hala* it is evident that ploughs drawn by oxen were the common means resorted to in our period. A spade, or hoe, locally called *bakkhar* and now in vogue in almost all the parts of this vast region, may also have been in use, though we have no reference to it. One of the records mentions *khala* (threshing floor), indicating that corn was threshed. We have no direct reference to irrigation; but from the mention of canals, tanks, lakes and wells and their repairs in our records⁵ we can surmise that the importance of artificial irrigation was well recognised. A wheel known as *araghatta*⁶ was used for raising water from a well.

During the time of famine the state took measures to avert the calamity and this example was followed by pious and wealthy people.⁷

As to the agricultural products, our inscriptions incidently mention the following: *kōdrava* (a kind of millet), *tila* (sesame), *vrihi* (paddy), *mudga* (kidney beans), *kañika*⁸ (cumin seed) and *mōraṭa*⁹ (commonly called *mōraṇḍa* or *mōrdhan*). Of these, *kōdrava* and *mōraṭa* appear to have been produced more profusely and extensively in Bundelkhand and in areas where the rainfall is scanty. *Gōdhūma*, though mentioned in only one of our inscriptions found at Dubkund, in the Shivpuri District,¹⁰ appears to have been extensively cultivated throughout Mālwa also, as today.

1 No. 119, ll. 25 and below; and No. 126, ll. 17 and below.

2 See Nos. 60, 45 and 51 respectively.

3 No. 130, l. 14.

4 *Śukra*, I, 387-414. According to the *Mitāksharā* on the *Yāj. Sm.* (I, 210), 30 *daṇḍas*, each 7 *hastas* long, make a *nivartana*.

5 The lakes at Bhōjapur, Udaipur, and Dēpālpur, named after Bhōja, Udayāditya and Dēvapāla, respectively, and those known as Rāhila-Sāgar, Kirāta (Kīrti)-Sāgar and Madana-Sāgar, known after the Chandēlla kings of these names are the well-known instances. For lakes at Khajurāhō and Mahōbā, see *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, pp. 415 and 439. For epigraphic references, see No. 6, l. 8 (*samasta-tajākais = sahiti*), No. 60, v. 55; No. 125, vv. 47-48 and No. 133, v. 3. References to constructing and repairing wells are numerous. It may also be pointed out here that from the Khajurāhō inscription of V, 1011 (our No. 98) Dr. S.K. Mitra has tried to show that in its v. 26 there is a reference to "the construction of embankments to divert the course of a river, evidently for the benefit of the peasantry concerned" (*E.R.K.*, p. 180). But the actual expression is *svah-Sindhur-baddha-rōdhūḥ* which means only that (at the time of the march of the king's army) the course of the heavenly river was blocked (due to the dust raised and accumulated in its water).

6 No. 82, l. 37; No. 83, l. 34; and No. 84, v. 78. It is not a Persian wheel, as generally taken.

7 See No. 128, l. 6. As we have stated while editing the inscription, the actual measures adopted are not known. Taking the word *vāpi*, to be connected with *vāpa* (sowing seed), we may also conclude that this reservoir appears to have been used for irrigation.

8 No. 8, ll. 9-10.

9 For example, see No. 130, l. 11.

10 No. 154, l. 56.

Of the fibrous products, we have references to the cultivation of cotton and *śana* (hemp), both of which are very often recorded in our inscriptions.¹ The textile industry in Mālwa flourished with conspicuous success.²

Sugarcane appears to have been cultivated abundantly throughout the region in our age also, as at present, as we find the word *ikshu* occurring very often in our records. Mango and *madhūka* (*Madhuca indica*) are generally mentioned in connection with the donated villages in Bundelkhand, but they appear to have been grown plentifully in some other tracts also. The latter of these products was used for preparing intoxicating liquor. *Kalyapāla* (wine-dealer) figures in one of our inscriptions,³ from Vindhya region.

Cattle-rearing was also followed by some of the population, as we know from references to pasture-lands attached to villages and products like milk, butter, ghee, etc. Forests, salt-mines, mines of precious stones and treasure trove were great resources of income to the state. Of all the minerals, iron was the most useful in every day life for manufacturing agricultural implements, such as spade, sickle and plough share and also for preparing weapons of war. This metal, which is mentioned in almost every grant from Bundelkhand,⁴ may have been worked out in the other territories as well. The iron pillar at Dhār, which is now unfortunately broken into three parts, is said to be a creation of our age.⁵

The art of working metals was pursued with great success. Among the metals we have references to gold, silver, brass, copper etc., besides iron which has just been mentioned. Gold and silver were generally used for ornaments, to decorate the different parts of houses and temples to which we have numerous references, and also for constructing images for worship.⁶ That the copper-industry was thriving in all the parts of the region in our period is known from the copper-plates, with reference to their engravers, and from the utensils of worship recorded in detail in some of our inscriptions.⁷ We have references to working in *riti* (bellmetal), *kāmsya* and *pittala*⁸ (brass), showing that this industry greatly developed throughout the region.

The temple-building activity which was prevalent during the period throughout the entire region, and the superb grace exhibited in sculptures profusely to be found in the whole region, furnish evidence of the general development of stone architecture. This is also supported by the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* and other contemporary works. A record from Gwālior, dated V. 1150, shows that a temple was equipped by the king with stone-cutters, stone-polishers, diggers of wells and tanks and their builders, along with carpenters, engineers and artisans.⁹ The high-water mark achieved in the field of stone architecture is also testified by the description of temples and stepped wells constructed during our period.¹⁰

Work in precious stones also flourished highly in the period under review, as we know from scattered references to it in our records. The Gwālior inscription of the Kachchhapaghāta Mahipāla which we have referred to above, states that the deities installed by him in the temple were decorated with ornaments studded with precious stones.

1 For example, in No. 84, v. 72; No. 118, l. 16; and No. 130, l. 25.

2 According to Chau Ju-kua, as referred to in S.E., p. 518.

3 No. 84, v. 74. Sap-trees (*āsava-*) and safflowers (*kaśumbha*) are often mentioned in Chandēlla grants, e.g., in No. 118, l. 16.

4 Eg. *sa-lōha-lavan-ākaram*; also cf. No. 155, v. 76.

5 For details, see A.S.I.R., 1902-03, p. 109 and 205; I.G.I., Vol. XI, p. 295.

6 For example, in No. 92, ll. 13-14; Nos. 82, v. 33; No. 155, v. 86; No. 82, vv. 86-92; and No. 96, v. 5.

7 See, for example, No. 155, vv. 83 ff.

8 *Ibid.*; also see No. 126, l. 124.

9 No. 155, v. 101.

10 The following technical terms may be quoted here from No. 62:-

Suśiṣṭha-saṁdhirṁ ruchiraṁ supādam śail-ēṣṭakam cha sthira-simhakarmaṇam (v. 20)

An inscription from the Vāgaḍa region describes a gold-smith as dexterous in testing rubies,¹ and still another, from the Mandsaur District, records a donation to a temple by makers of pearl-strings.² We have the well-known example of the Śiva-*linga* of emerald installed in a temple at Khajurāhō by the Chandēlla ruler Dhaṅga.³ And combining all these stray evidences from the different parts of the whole region, we notice that working in precious stone, which was the occupation in our age of some of the people at least, was carried on with conspicuous success.

With reference to the other professions and crafts, our inscriptions incidentally mention *rūpakāra*, *sūtradhāra*, *vaidya*, *aśva-vaidya*, *nāpita*, *dhīvara*, *tailika*, and some others. The professions of all these persons appear to be hereditary and they worked in their houses testifying to the existence of cottage-industries. An idea of how most of these industries were thriving in those days can be had from the affluence of wealth of an oilman who, according to an inscription from Mālwa, built a Śiva temple at Jhālrapāṭan,⁴ in the Jhālāwād District of West Mālwa, now included in Rājasthān.

The products of the home-industries mentioned above were all brought for sale to the local markets, which are known to have been flourishing. For example, an eleventh century inscription from the Sirōhi area describes the mart at Vajapura thronged with sellers and purchasers assembling there from the surrounding places;⁵ and to give another instance, the market at Dubkuṇḍ (Shivpurī District), the capital of the Kachchhapaghāta *Mahārāja* Vikramasimha, has, more or less, the same description in another epigraph.⁶ Some other flourishing marts will be noticed below.

A glimpse of the market (*āpaṇa*) of those days can be had from a statement in the Khajurāhō inscription of V. 1011,⁷ describing it as divided into lanes and shops of merchants. The articles of trade, as we find in an inscription of V. 1137 and from the Vāgaḍa territory,⁸ consisted of corn, vegetables, candied sugar, jaggery, Indian madder, cotton and cotton thread (or cloth), coconut, salt, areca-nut, butter, sesame oil, and utensils in the shops of blaziers, distillers and also cattle-fodder.

The record just referred to mentions all these articles in connection with tolls and sales tax imposed on them, some of which were local products whereas others were imported. It also records levying of taxes on some industries, such as of braziers, distillers of wine, gambling houses, oil-mills and water-wheels and also a cess on caravans of traders. But it is silent as to the way of collecting all these dues. We have, however, two records, one of which is from the Sirōhi area and the other from the Gwālior District (from Gwālior itself), both of which use the term *maṇḍapikā*,⁹ also stating that a portion of the income from it was to be made in favour of the deity installed in a temple at each of the places. *Maṇḍapikā* thus appears to be the place, a pavilion in the market, where sales and the other taxes were collected on articles before they were displayed for sale.

Commerce was generally in the hands of the Jaina community and the prominent people belonging to this community occupied respectable position. The Khajurāhō inscription of V.S. 1011 mentions one Pāhilla of the Grahapati family as held in high esteem by the Chandēlla king Dhaṅgadēva.¹⁰ We have another record from Arthūṇā, stating that

1 No. 87, v. 5.

2 No. 55, l. 52.

3 No. 114, v. 48.

4 No. 22, l. 3.

5 No. 83, v. 23.

6 No. 154, v. 19.

7 No. 98, v. 40.

8 No. 84, vv. 69 ff.

9 Respectively, No. 82, l. 38 and No. 155, v. 73.

10 No. 99, v. 1.

one Sahaja of that place, who built a temple there, commanded high respect in the palace.¹ Instances can be multiplied; and here it is also interesting to note that a record from Dubkund (Shivpuri District) states that two brothers of the name of Rishi and Dāhaḍa were raised to the position of *śrēṣṭhins* by the Kachchhapaghāta king Vikramasimha.²

None of our inscriptions says anything about the work of these venerable persons, but they appear to have provided banking facilities as in some parts of the country even in modern days. They may also have regulated trade and industry.

The artisans and traders had their own guilds and corporations, to look after the general management of the whole affair and probably also for controlling the market. The Shērgaḍh inscription of 1017, 1018 and 1028 A.C. mentions a *tailikarāja*, which has been translated by Dr. A.S. Altekar as the chief of the guild of the oilmen.³ The fragmentary Mōḍi stone inscription of V.S. 1311 refers to the donation of one Arjuna who belonged to the family of Naigamas, and this term, according to Dr. Bloch, stands for corporation of guilds.⁴ In some of our records we have the term *śrēṣṭhin*, as already seen above; and, as interpreted by Dr. D.C. Sircar, it stands for guild-presidents.⁵

A number of guilds are mentioned by writers of legal works of our period or near about,⁶ but the very few references to them in our inscriptions may probably be taken to indicate their decline, perhaps because of their local nature or want of proper organisation of their activities. They appear to have been more common amongst the lower class of people (*antyajas*), as we know from Albēri, who mentions guilds of "fowlers, shoe-makers, jugglers, basket and shieldbirds, and weavers".⁷

Traders are also known as moving in groups, as evidenced by the expression *vanī-maṇḍalikā*, as already seen. It appears to have been due to the fear and oppression of robbers infesting the high-ways, as we also know from one of our inscriptions which says that *Bhillas*, *Sābaras* and *Pulindas* were troublesome to the people and the state.⁸

We have no epigraph to indicate foreign trade, though its existence in our age is known from some of the literary sources.⁹

Concluding the account of the general economic life of the entire region in the period under review, we have to observe that the people following the different vocations

1 No. 86, v. 9. For the Bhinnāl region, see No. 93, 13.

2 No. 154, v. 24.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 138. Incidentally it may be noted here that there is nothing definite to show that the person who made these grants did so "not in his individual capacity but on behalf of the guild of the *telis* of which he might have been the chief representative," as suggested by Dr. Altekar. Attention may also be drawn to the attempt of some scholars to show the existence of the guild of oilmen at Jhālrapātan from our No. 22, 11. 2-3, for which *P.B.P.*, p. 306; but the expression used here is *tailikānvayē pāṭakila-*, which means only that the person, who was a *pāṭakila* of the village, belonged to the caste of oilmen.

4 *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1903-04, p. 104. For the inscription, see No. 55, 1. 45.

5 *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 284, n. 6. It can not be known if the word *saṅgha* in *Jina-pati-jana-saṅghē Jhalla-nāmā varishṭhaḥ* (No. 86, v. 3) and *varga* in *jainavarga-dhurandharah* (No. 159, v. 38) may also be taken in the sense of a guild. Still another similar example we have in *paurapāṭānvaya-jaina-varga-dhurandharah* in No. 159, v. 38. All these instances are doubtful. Here we may refer to Mēdhātīthi (c. 900 A.C.), a commentator of the *Manusmṛiti*, who clearly distinguishes a guild (*śrēṇī*) from a *saṅgha*, by stating that the former of these consisted of people following common profession, such as tradesmen, artisans, money-lenders, and so forth; and the latter was a community of persons following the same pursuit, though belonging to different castes (*jāti*) and regions (*dēśa*). See his commentary on *Manu*, VIII, vv. 41 and 219. Also see *A.I.K.*, p. 405.

6 Mēdhātīthi on *Manu*, VIII, 41.

7 *Sachau*, Vol. I, p. 101.

8 See No. 150, v. 22 (for Vindhya), and *S.M.K.*, p. 84 (for Mālwa), but the condition was more or less the same throughout the region. A picture of the life of these aboriginal tribes is given by Sōmadēva, a Kashmirian writer of the eleventh century, in his *Kathāsaritsāgara*, e.g., in XIII, p. 39 f.; XX, p. 62 f. *Vanī-maṇḍalikā*, mentioned in No. 82, v. 72, is probably a traders' association.

9 *T.M.*, p. 103; *S.M.K.*, pp. 28 f.

mentioned above enjoyed high material prosperity, though the level was bound to vary in some of its parts influencing it from the west as well as from the east. The village folk who were content with their limited wants of life, tried to make their villages beautiful by individually as well as jointly by their interest in excavating wells, planting gardens and erecting temples. The internal trade seems to have been as well prosperous and the traders and the craftsmen organised themselves not only by devising their own corporations but also by making pious endowments and voluntarily imposing tolls upon various articles of trade.¹ The industrial development gradually resulted in a vigorous growth of towns and cities, and we have references to big towns like Ujjain, Dhārā, Vidishā (Bhilsā), Bhōjpur, Shērgadh, Māhishmati, Chittōd, Candrāvati, Arthūnā, Bhinmāl, Kirādū, Jālōr, Mahōbā, Kālāñjar, Gwālīor and Narwar, some of which were religious centres, others good points of defence, and some of commercial or religious importance. The cities like Ujjain and Dhār are described in the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*² as centres of all activities and wealth. A glimpse of the flourishing condition of a city or town can be had from the writings of Padmagupta, who describes Ujjayini as surrounded by a rampart and full of opulence, with splendid houses containing precious windows, wells, tanks and gardens on the banks of the Siprā, and emulating the capital of Indra.³ In equally glorious terms he speaks of Dhārā, the other capital of the Paramāras.⁴ Kālāñjara, one of the strongholds of the Chandēilas, besides Mahōbā and Ajaygaḍh, was a flourishing town, as we know from some of the inscriptions from that place. Talapātaka (Talvādā) in the Vāgaḍa territory, Vaṭapura in the Sirōhi area and Dubkuṇḍ in Gwālīor region, are all described in our epigraphs as towns (*purās*) with flourishing marts and extensive commercial activities.⁵ Narwar, the capital of the Yajvapālas, is described as enjoying the prosperity of the capital of the heaven.⁶ It is true that the poetic description of all these places, along with those of some others occurring in our records, are mostly in general terms and contains exaggeration; but their former glory is attested by the relics to be seen even today above the ground and also excavated on some of the sites, along with those now housed in our museums.

Big towns had suburbs attached to them.⁷ There is also evidence to show that effective arrangements were made to guard city gates and their surroundings.⁸

EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY

We may close this section by mentioning the types of money current in our period and the coins struck by the princes of the royal houses dealt with in this work.

The coin known as *dramma* is often alluded to in our inscriptions, particularly from Mālwa and its neighbouring regions of Vāgaḍa, Sirōhi and Bhinmāl. But from the inscriptions themselves we have no means to ascertain its metal and weight in our period. *Dramma* is generally known as the Sanskritised form of the Greek *drachma*, the standard weight of which is 67.5 grains.

Citing instances from some of our inscriptions, we find that the Kālvaṇ grant of the time of the Paramāra Bhōjadēva records the presentation of fourteen *drammas*, along with some other objects, to the illustrious *Muni* Suvratadēva, by the *Rāṇaka* Amma;⁹

1 As we know from No. 84, vv. 68 ff.

2 Ch. X, vv. 102 ff.

3 *Navasāhasāṅkcharita*, I, vv. 17 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, vv. 90-91. Also see the beginning of *S.M.K.* and *S.S.*, CH. XXX.

5 See No. 88, v. 4; No. 159, v. 19 and No. 62, v. 23 respectively. Cf. *Mānasāra*, Chs. IX-X: e.g., *janāḥ parivṛtāṁ kraya-vikraya-kāribhīḥ* and *bahu-karmakair-yuktāṁ nagaraṁ tad-udāhṛtāṁ*

6 No. 163, v. 3 and No. 164, v. 9.

7 No. 44, l. 28, where N.P. Chakravarti took the word *tala* in the sense of a suburb, and No. 45, l. 26.

8 cf. No. 150, vv. 13, 16-17 and 22.

9 No. 16, l. 23; also see No. 95. The last line mentions the gift of one *dramma*, by a king, per year

and the Mōḍī fragmentary inscription dated V.S. 1314 = 1258 A.C. mentions the presentation of one *dramma* per month in favour of a temple at that place.¹ These instances go to indicate that the *dramma* used in them must be of silver, or gold. For to give one copper *dramma* by a king in the first of these instances and by a wealthy person in the second appears to be funny. Naravarman is known to have granted two *Paruttha drammas* daily from the custom houses at Chittor for the maintenance of two *vidhichaityas*.² From Śrīdhara's commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra*, we learn that one *dramma* was equal to five Rupees,³ and according to the *Purāṇanaprabandhasamgraha*, a *Pāruttha dramma* was equal to eight ordinary *drammas*.⁴ Thus *dramma* seems to have been a gold coin in these particular cases, though sometimes a copper or silver coin. Possibly, *dramma* was a general term to denote any coin.

To consider instances from the areas adjoining Mālwa, the Girvaḍ stone inscription of the time of the Paramāra Pratāpasimha, dated V.S. 1344 (1285-86 A.C.), mentions the tax of ten *drammas* from each of the surrounding villages, for the *naivēdya* of the deity installed in a temple at that place;⁵ and the Arthūnā inscription of V.S. 1136, or 1080 A.C., records the tax of a *dramma* on a brazier's shop, a gambling house, a group of merchants and *ikshu-tavaṇi* (?), per month, and a special tax of one *dramma* to be collected on *Chaitra* and *Pavitraka*.⁶ The Bhinmāl inscription of V.S. 1239 = 1183 A.C. mentions the offer of a *dramma* each, per year, by some persons to the Sun deity installed in a temple there.⁷ All these instances show that this term was more often used for silver and gold coins.

Rūpaka and *Vimśōpaka* are other denominations of coins mentioned in our inscriptions. The Arthūnā inscription of V.S. 1136 (1080 A.C.), which we have already referred to above, alludes to *Rūpaka* and *Vṛisha-vimśōpaka*.⁸ According to Vishnugupta, quoted in Hēmadri's *Vratakhanda*, one *rūpaka* was equal to one seventeenth of a *suvarṇa*.⁹ R.C. Agarwal has shown that the word *rūpaka* was in some cases identical with *dramma*, and also that *rūpaka* coins were in circulation in Rājasthān during the 10-11th centuries A.C.¹⁰ Similar may have been the case in the contemporary Mālwa region which adjoins to Rājasthān on one side, and on the other, to the region of the Yādavas where Hēmadri composed his work in the latter half of the thirteenth century A.C.

The coin denomination *Vimśōpaka* is mentioned in the Vidishā inscription of the Paramāra Trailōkyavarman, dated V.S. 1216 = 1158-59 A.C., the Pānāhēḍā inscription of Maṇḍalikā of the Vāgaḍa area, dated V.S. 1116 = 1059 A.C., and also in the Dubkund inscription of the Kachchhapaghāta Vikramasimha, which is dated V.S. 1145 or 1088 A.C. and which comes from the Gwālior region.¹¹ As the word shows, it was equal in value to the twentieth part of a *dramma*; and as it is said to have been taxed on a bull load, it seems to have been a copper coin. According to D.R. Bhandarkar, it was a copper coin of the value of one-twentieth of a *dramma*.¹²

1 No. 56, 1, 48.

2 *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 224.

3 *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. VIII(2), pp. 140 f.

4 *op. cit.*, p. 13.

5 No. 82, 1, 38.

6 No. 84, vv. 73-78. *Dramma* was perhaps identical with *Rūpaka* see *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XIX, kp. 117.

7 No. 95, 11, 8-10.

8 For *Rūpaka*, see *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XIX (1957), pp. 115 ff; and for *Vṛisha-Vimśōpaka*, No. 84, v. 76.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 Respectively, No. 42, 1, 8; No. 83; and No. 154, 1, 56. Thakkura Phēru, who composed his first book in 1290 A.C., mentions 20 *vimśōpakas* = 1 *dramma*. See *E.C.D.*, p. 319.

12 *Carmichael Lectures*, p. 208. Also see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. clxxxix.

INTRODUCTION

Above we have referred to the coin denomination known as *Vṛishavimśōpaka*. From the context it seems to have been a coin stamped with the effigy of a bull and perhaps the same as the *vṛishabha* coin of the Shērgadh (Kōṭā) inscription of V.S. 1075 or 1018 A.C.¹ It is interesting to note here that the *Kṛishnarāja Rūpaka*, which was stamped with the figure of a bull, was current in a wide territory including Mālwa and Rājasthān.²

These coins struck with the royal effigy were also current in our period in Mālwa and the surrounding area is shown by the Amērā inscription of the time of Naravarman, dated V.S. 1151 or 1094 A.C. It records the construction of a tank by a Brāhmaṇa named Vikrama, at the expense of 2,500 *tanḱakas*,³ which were *rāy(j)a-mudrita*. They appear to have been silver coins, and we also know that the word *tanḱa* or *tanḱaka* was then used in the general sense of money.⁴

The popular coins known as *Gadhīā* (*Gadyāṇa* or *Gadyāṇaka*), which were current over a wide area comprising Mālwa, Rājasthān and Gujarāt, along with some other adjoining parts such as Bundelkhand (*Ind Ant.*, XXXVII, p. 182) appear to have been in circulation throughout the Paramāra kingdom in our period. They were mostly of copper and of silver-plated copper, though specimens of pure silver have also been known. One of this type which bears the legend *Śrī-Ōmkāra* in two lines in the Nāgarī alphabet of the 11-12th centuries⁵ A.C., have been found in abundance in Mālwa; and it is not unlikely that some of the Paramāra kings, who held their sway around the region of Ōmkāra-Māndhātā may have issued these specimens in honour of the deity to whom they were devoted. It is significant to note here that as many as five of the Paramāra grants known so far were issued from Māndhātā, ranging in dates from V.S. 1112 (1056 A.C.) to 1317 (1260 A.C.).⁶

COINS OF THE PARAMĀRA KINGS

Taking the case of the coins struck by the individual dynasties of rulers included in this work, we find that only two or three of the Paramāra rulers have so far struck coins.⁷ Some of the rulers belonging to this house do not appear to have realised the importance of striking money in their name, and it seems that the coinage of the neighbouring territories was probably current in their kingdom.

UDAYĀDITYA

A gold coin bearing the three-lined legend read by R.D. Banerji as *Śrīmad=Udayadēva* on its obverse and the representation of the four-armed seated Lakshmi on the reverse, was described by R.D. Banerji in the *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XVI (1920), p. 84, ascribing it to the Paramāra Udayāditya. But according to V.V. Mirashi, the type and the legend are like those of the coins of the Kalachuri Gāṅgēyadēva.⁸ On a solitary specimen illustrated in the *J.A.S.B.* by Banerji, the legend is worn and the name cannot be definitely read; and thus nothing can be proved or disproved. It is possible that Gāṅgēya's gold *tanḱas*

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 139 ff. our No. 23.

2 See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. clxxxix; also see *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XIX, p. 120.

3 No. 30, v. 5.

4 The standard weight of a silver *tanḱa* was 172.8 grains. See Habibullah, *Foundation of the Muslim Rule in India*, E.C.D., p. 304. We also read about a *hēmatanḱa*, see *ibid.* p. 305.

5 See *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 58, where the type was first published.

6 Nos. 18, 49, 51, 57 and 60.

7 It is, however, curious that we have not so far succeeded in discovering any coin of the well known and powerful ruler Bhōjadēva.

8 See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. clxxxiii, n. 5.

were current also in the region of Mālwa, and the type may also have been copied by Udayāditya, only in the change of the name, if it is attributed to him. Thus we have to admit that no definite evidence is available to decide the point. Mirashi himself has admitted that the legend on this coin is "somewhat crudely executed".¹

In my search of old coins, I was lucky to notice a gold specimen of the same type as described above, in a necklace which is daily worshipped, in possession of a Shri. Padamsingh Shyamsukhā, a coin-collector of Indore. The legend on the obverse is very distinct and I read it as *Śrīmad-Udayāditya*, in two lines. The third and the fourth *aksharas* cannot be read otherwise. It is possible to ascribe this coin to the Paramāra ruler Udayāditya. PL, III, 1.

Jagaddēva is known to have been the next ruler to issue coins in his name. The Nagpur Museum contains three coins struck by him. They were all discovered in the Central Provinces and acquired for the coin cabinet of the Museum, in 1912. The discovery of these coins was first reported in the *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 75, and they were described by V.P. Rode, the Curator of the Museum, in the *Proceedings and Transactions* of the All-India Oriental Conference, XIIIth Session, held at Nagpur, in 1946 (pp. 57 ff.) and then in the Centenary Volume of the Museum (1964), p. 152 and Pl. XXV, Nos. 15-17.

One of these coins is of pure gold and two of base gold. All the three coins are circular, of the diameter of 1.8 to 1.9 cm.; and the average weight is 3.69 grammes. The reverse is blank. The device on the obverse is described as below:

For punched areas; the one at the top has the Nāgarī legend *Śrī Jagaddēva*; the two side areas show a symbol formed by curved lines and dots which appear to be a crude representation of the old Kannaḍa letter *Śrī*. The bottom area contains a symbol formed by a rectangular area over which rises a tower-like thing representing probably a temple.²

Though a powerful feudatory of the Western Chālukyas, as we know from the Dōngargāon and the Jaināḍ inscriptions,³ Jagaddēva was placed in charge of Berar and the northern portion of the Nizām's dominions by his overlord Vikramāditya VI. I agree with Rode that this prince enjoyed the privilege of issuing coins in his own name.⁴ PL, III 2-4

Udayāditya's son, Naravarman, is also known to have issued coins in his own name. The type has been described in the *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXX, p. 208 and Pl. IV (3-4) by R.K. Sethi who published two coins, one in gold and the other in silver. Both the coins are round, and the gold coin (No. 3) shows the diameter .8" and weighs 5.6 grammes, whereas the silver coin (No. 4) has the diameter .7" and it weighs 3.0 grammes. The obverse of both these specimens bears the figure of Lakshmi, seated in *padmāsana*, and the reverse has the legend in two lines; (1) *Śrīman-Nara*; (2) *va(r)mmadēva*. The gold coin is in mint condition but the silver coin has both its sides blurred in the photograph, probably showing that it was for long in circulation. It is also clipped around the edge and thus it appears to have lost some of its weight. PL, III 5, 6, 7.

1 *Ibid.* In the legend on photo-plate A, No. 4, of *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, the third and the fourth *aksharas*, which are partly off the flan, seem to be more like *duda* rather than *-dgangē* and thus the coin appears to have been struck by Udayādēva (Udyādityadēva) rather than Gāṅgeyadēva. Thus I am tempted to agree with Banerji in attributing this coin-type to the Paramāra Udayāditya.

2 I am thankful to Shri. Rode who kindly allowed me to examine the specimens and include them here.

3 Nos. 28-29.

4 Rode, *op.cit.* The find-spot of these coins is not recorded.

PLATE SHOWING COINS OF THE PARAMĀRAS OF MALWA



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3



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7

COINS OF THE CHANDĒLLA KINGS

In the ChandĒlla dynasty, Kirtivarman is known to have been the first king to mint coins. His coins are in gold and circular in form. On the reverse they have the figure of Lakshmi, identified as Pārvati by Cunningham, who published ChandĒlla coins, with illustrations in his *Coins of Medieval India* (1898), p. 79 and Plate VIII.¹ The obverse has the legend in three lines. The type may be described as follows:-

A. Size in diameter-.18 cm. wt. - 63 grains.
(base)

obverse- Inside a circle of dots, the legend in Nāgari

characters in three lines:

*Śrīmat-Kī-
rttivarman-
dēva*

Reverse-Inside a circle of dots, the figure of four-armed Lakshmi, nimbate, sitting cross-legged. Pl., 8-9

The coins of this ruler are of two denominations, viz., *drammas* and *ardha-drammas*, according to Cunningham, who has noted that the larger gold coins of this ruler generally weigh upwards of sixty grains, rising to sixty-three, and the smaller gold coins, the type of which is the same as described above, are of thirty-one grains, a half-*dramma*, Pl., 8. He also remarked that the type was copied from the money of Gāṅgēyadēva of Chēdi.

As noted by Smith in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 148, the *drammas* of Kirtivarman are not very rare, but of his half *drammas* there are only three specimens - one in the Indian Museum, one in the British Museum and one in Hoey's cabinet. One unique half *dramma* of this ruler is referred to by Dr. A.S. Altekar in the *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 33.

The ChandĒlla kingdom was some time in occupation of the Kalachuris, whose coins probably became extensively current in Bundelkhand. This explains that Kirtivarman's coins are exact copies of those of Gāṅgēya. The Lakshmi type was originally introduced by Gāṅgēyadēva and it became so popular in North India as to be adopted not only by the ChandĒllas but also by the Gahāḍavālas of Kanauj, the Tōmaras of Delhi and even by the kings of distant Kashmir.² This type appears to have been adopted by the Paramāras. Most of the ChandĒlla kings were Śaivas but the device of Lakshmi is generally found also on their copper-plate grants.

Sallakshavarman

This ruler continued the type introduced by his father, Kirtivarman, but his coins appear to have been of slightly base gold. In his *C.M.I.*, Cunningham described two gold coins of this ruler, one of the larger and the other of the smaller type (a quarter *dramma*), illustrating them both on Pl. VIII, Nos. 14-15. On both of them his name appears as *Hallakshana*, instead of *Sallakshana*. Five of his quarter *drammas* were Pl., 9-10 noticed by Smith.

1 His coins are also described in *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, pp. 458 f.; *ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 25 f; and Pl.; and in *C.C.I.M.* pp. 251 and 253.

2 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. clxxxiv. D.W. Mac Dowell suggested that Kirtivarman copied his coin-type from type 4 of Gāṅgēyadēva. See *Num. Chron.*, 1958, p. 161.

Sallakshana is also known to have issued copper coins, on which the figure of Lakshmi is replaced by that of Hanumān under a canopy.¹ According to Cunningham, it weighs 61 grains.² The type is described as below:-

AE Size in diameter - 1.5 cm. Wt. -61 grs.

obverse--Śrīmat-Ha-
llakshana-va-
rma-dēva

Reverse - Hanumān under a canopy. PL, 10-12.

A copper coin is generally called a *pana*, the standard weight of which was 80 *raktikas* or 146 grains; but the coin described above weighs only 61 grains. Here it may be noted that the recorded copper coins of Gāṅgādēva, from which the above mentioned type appears to have been imitated, do not weigh more than 60 grains and perhaps they were half *panas*.³ According to Cunningham, the coins of this king are rare.⁴

Jayavarman

Jayavarman's coins, as also noted by Cunningham, are rare.⁵ They are all in copper, except one which is in silver, and is in the British Museum, and close imitations of the *dramma* of his father, Sallakshana. Two varieties of them have so far been known.

(a) AE Size in diameter-1.5 cm. Wt. -60 grs.

Obverse- Śrīmaj-Ja-
yavarmma-
deva

Reverse - Hanumān, as above.

PL 13

(b) AE- Published by A.S. Altekar, in *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 33, as described by him, the coin bears the legend beyond Śrīmajjayavarmadēva, on the *obv.*, and plate II, 19 and the figure of Hanumān, flying, on the *rev.* It is roughly round, with diameter 5" The coin is die-struck and weighs 30 grs. It is an *ardha-dramma*.

PL, 14

Jayavarman is known to have struck only copper-coins, but Cunningham recorded a unique silver specimen with the name of this ruler and coming from James Prinsep's collection.⁶ According to Cunningham, the coin bears the figure of the goddess on one side and the legend giving the name of the king, in three lines, on the other. It is not illustrated.

In my numismatic search, I noticed a silver coin of the same type, in possession of a local coin-collector Shri. Padamsingh Shyāmasukhā, who found it at Vidishā. The

1 The figure is that of Hanumān also according to Smith (*C.C.I.M.*, Vol. I, p. 251), A.S. Altekar (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. IV p. 33), and V.V. Mirashi (*C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. clxxxvii); but in *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 68 ff. M.G. Dikshit argues that the figure which shows no tail may be identified as of a warrior. But in a facing figure one cannot expect the tail to be depicted. For other details, see *Num. Notes and Monographs*, No. 12, p. 38, n. 2.

2 His coins are described in *C.M.I.*, p. 79, Nos. 14-16; *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, pp. 458 f.; and *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 26, and Pl.

3 See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. clxxxiii.

4 See *C.M.I.*, p. 79, No. 16.

5 His coins are described in *C.M.I.*, pp. 77, 79, No. 17, and Pl.; *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, pp. 458 f.; *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 26, and Pl. The last of the specimens is in silver, as we are informed by Cunningham, in *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. X, p. 26.

6 See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. for 1908, p. 147.

7 *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. X, p. 26.

PLATE SHOWING COINS OF THE CHANDELLAS OF JEJĀKABHUKTI



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23

INTRODUCTION

coin is roughly circular in shape, 11 mms in diameter, and weighs 33 grains. It is a half *dramma*.

The name of Jayavarman occurs once in the genealogical list of the Chandéllas and is repeated twice in that of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa. And therefore the attribution of the coin remains uncertain. Its findspot too does not help us in this respect.

PL. 15

Prithivivarman: This ruler is known to have struck coins in copper only. The type is designed as below:-

AE Size and diameter - 1.4 cm. wt. 41 grs.

Obverse - Legend with the name of Prithivivarmadēva.

Reverse- Hanumān under a canopy.¹

PL. 16

Madanavarman

This ruler struck gold coins, both of the larger and smaller size, and also copper coins. His gold coins show the same transition from base gold to silver gilt and silver that we notice between types 5 and 8 of Gāṅgēyadēva.²

PL. 17-19

Cunningham noticed 4 gold (one large and three small) and two copper coins of this king, in his *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 458, and 1 gold *dramma*, 3 gold quarter *drammas* and a quarter copper *dramma*, in *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 26 and Plate. He described, with illustrations, all these types in his *C.M.I.*, p. 79 and Pl. VIII, Nos. 19-21. In 1906, V. Smith described one base gold *dramma* of the king, in his *C.C.I.M.*, p. 253. It was found at Khajurāhō. No silver coin of this ruler has so far been known, except those noticed below.

The type of gold and copper coins is respectively the same as described above. The British Museum has a copper coin of this ruler, which shows the figure of a four-armed seated goddess, and the legend on the other side, giving the name.³

In 1910, a find consisting of 48 silver coins of this ruler was received from Panwār, a village in the Teōnthar *tehsil* of the former Rēwā State (now a district in Madhya Pradesh). The find consists of 8 large (c. 60 to 62.75 grains) and 40 small (c. 14.17 to 16.07 grains). According to R.D. Banerji, who noticed the find in *J.A.S.B.*, 1914, Vol. X (N.S.), 1914, pp. 199 f., these coins are exact copies of the larger and smaller gold coins, with the name of the king on one side and the seated goddess on the other side. A doubtful silver quarter *dramma* is reported to have been in Hoey's collection.

Paramardin

For the long reign of Paramardin, we have only a solitary specimen, of base gold, weighing 61.4 grains. It is of the usual seated goddess type and is published by Hoernle in the *J.A.S.B.*, 1889, Pl. I, p. 34 and Pl. XXVI. It is said to have been discovered at Khajurāhō. It is the same coin which is described in the *C.C.I.M.*, Vol. I, p. 253. I have no means to ascertain whether it is the same as published in *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 12, p. 76 and Pl. X, 15, where the figure is said to be very crude.

PL. 20.

¹ *Num. Chronicle*, 1958, p. 161; *C.M.I.*, p. 79, No. 18, and Pl.; *ASIR.*, Vol. X, p. 26, and Pl.

² *Ibid.*

³ N.S. Bose, *Hist. of the Chandéllas*, p. 183.

In his *C.M.I.* (p. 80), Cunningham says that he possessed four copper coins which appeared to bear the legend with the name of Paramardin; but neither he could read the legend nor are the specimens illustrated. Thus we have no means to decipher the legend.

Trailōkyavarman

This ruler continued the gold coins of the type with the figure of the goddess on the reverse, and also the copper coins of the usual Hanumān type. The figures on both these types is extremely rude. One of his copper coins was found in the Bandā District.¹ In his *I.M.C.* Smith has described one gold coin of this ruler, on p. 253, Pl. 21

Recently, a gold coin of this ruler was published by S.K. Sullery, in *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 262 f. and Pl. xiv, 4. He informs us that the coin was obtained by G.S. Yadav at Ajaygadh. The specimen is in base gold; it is round showing a diameter 18.28 mm. and it weighs 4.053 gms. Its obverse has the three-lined legend in bold Nāgari characters- (1) *Śrīmat-Trai*; (2) *lōkya-va*; (3) *rmadēva*; and the reverse bears a crudely carved figure of the goddess Lakshmi, seated, with traces of loop above.

Viravarman

For Viravarman we have only two gold coins, one of which is described in the *C.C.I.M.*, Vol. I, p. 254 and Pl. XXVI. It was found at Khajurāhō and is of the usual type as described above. pl., 22 The other coin of this ruler was found at Tripuri and has been described by V.V. Mirashi, in the *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 236 ff. and pl. The legend on it, as read by Mirashi, is *Śrīmad-Viravarma-dharādēva*.² The coin is .7" (1.78 cm.) in diameter and weighs 46 grains. Pl., 22-23.

COINS OF THE YAJVAPĀLA KINGS

The coins of the Yajvapālas of Narwar were first published by Cunningham in his *C.M.I.*, pp. 92-93 and Pl. X, Nos. 4-10, calling the princes "Rajput kings of Narwar", and following him, by V.A. Smith, in *C.C.I.M.*, Vol. I, pp. 262 ff., under the heading "Dynasty of Narwar". Some more coins were subsequently noticed by M.B. Garde and R.D. Banerji, respectively, in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII (1918), pp. 241, and *J.A.S.B.*, (N.S.), Vol. XVI (1920), pp. 79 ff. A few stray specimens were subsequently published in the *J.N.S.I.* Vols.

All these coins are in copper, or bullion, roughly circular in shape and of the diameter of about 1.5 cm., as Banerji has pointed out, and bear a representation of what has been described as the early Chāhamāna horseman on the obverse and the three-lined legend on the reverse. Three of the kings belonging to this dynasty are known to have issued coins in their own names; they are; Chāhaḍadēva, his grandson Āsalladēva, and the latter's grandson Gaṇapatidēva. Here we may give a general description of each of the type of these coins:

1 *C.C.I.M.*, Vol. I, p. 253 and Pl. xxvi, 9. Smith also says that Rodgers had earlier noticed a duplicate of the same (*ibid.*, p. 253, n. 2), but it could not be traced.

2 The word *dharādēva*, as *bhūdēva*, means a Brāhmaṇa and not the lord of the earth, for which *dharāpati* is generally used. And hence the expression has been explained as 'the king as a divinity on earth'.

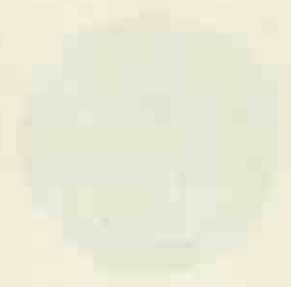
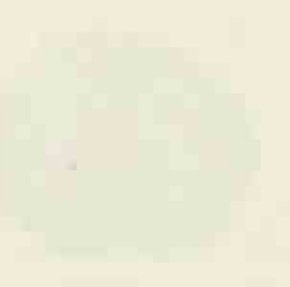
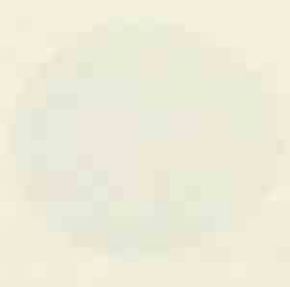


PLATE SHOWING COINS OF THE YAJVAPĀLA DYNASTY



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INTRODUCTION

Chāhaḍadēva

(a) *Obverse* - Śrīmata-

Chāhaḍadēva

Date 129x, (unit lost)

Reverse - Rude horseman, no legend.

C.M.I., p.93: pl X, 5.

Pl. 24

(b) *Obverse* - Horseman; legend Śrī-Chāhaḍadēva

Reverse - Bull; legend Śrī-Sāmantadēva *N.C.*, 1908,

Pl. XXIII, 419-20.

(C) *Obverse* - Horseman; legend as above.

Reverse - Recumbent humped Bull; legend *Asāvārī Śrī-Samasōraladēva*.

C.M.I., p. 92, pl. X, 4.

Pl. 25-26

Cunningham read two types of legends on the reverse of these coins, as shown above. Both these types of coins also differ in that on second type the bull has a trefoil tassel on its collar but it is missing on the other type. H. de S. Shortt held that Chāhaḍa's coins with the name of *sāmanta* are his independent coins (after the death of Iltutmish) and those of the first type were issued by him as a tributary of the Sultan.¹

Āsalladēva

obverse-Rude horseman, to right.

Reverse - ŚrīmadĀ

saladēva

Date (S. 1330); another specimen,

Ibid. 8

with S. 1312.

Pl. 27-28

While publishing coins from the Lalitpur hoard in the *J.N.S.I.*, C.R. Singhal showed that the dates on these coins are given in two different ways: (a) *Sam* followed by two numbers standing for ten and digit; thousand and hundred are omitted. (b) All four numbers given.²

Gaṇapatidēva

obverse - Rude horseman.

Reverse - Śrīmata

Gaṇapati-

dēva. Date (S.134-).

Ibid., 10. Pl., 30.

Coins of this dynasty are generally found in Narwar, which was its capital, and also in the surrounding region. A collection of 791 coins, found in (the former) Gwālior State was sent by the Resident of Gwālior to the Indian Museum for examination. Of

¹ *Num. Chronicle*, 1956, p. 314.

² *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXII, p. 193. On a coin published by him in *ibid.*, C.R. Singhal read *Āsalla* in place of *Āsala* as the name usually appears.

these, 250 coins were found worthless for numismatic purposes, and on the remaining coins, R.D. Banerji, who examined the collection, found that "the design is that of the horse, caparisoned, with a small fish in front, and the whole design is enclosed in a pair of concentric circles, the space between which is filled with a number of zigzag lines". The design on the reverse, according to him, consists of two parallel squares, the intervening space being occupied by similar zigzag line.

Banerji has also illustrated the coin in Pl. XII, i. The dates read by Cunningham on the coins of Chāhaḍadēva are: V. years 129x, 1303, 1305, 1306 and 1311.¹ In addition to these, the dates found by Banerji on those of the Gwālior find, for this king, are: V. 1302, 1303, 1304, 1307, 1308, 1311, 1312 and 1316.²

The coins of this royal house are very helpful in reconstructing its history, when we have no inscription of the time of Chāhaḍadēva, whose period can be ascertained only by his coins. His latest dated coin, as noted by Banerji, bears the date V.S. 1316 = 1259 A.C., and the earliest of the coins struck by him is dated V.S. 129x, on which the unit figure is lost. The same scholar also held, that taking this year, i.e., 129x to be latest possible 1299, Chāhaḍa's first known year is 1250 A.C., which also receives corroboration from the Muslim sources.³

Cunningham has recorded two coins of Āsalla, dated V.S. 1327 and 1330; but from the Gwālior find Banerji also noted for this ruler the dates (V.S.) 1315, 1318, 1319, 1322, 1333x and 134x.⁴ Thus we know that Chāhaḍa was succeeded by his grandson Āsalla in V.S. 1316, and this also shows that the former's son Nṛivarman predeceased him.

Cunningham has recorded one coin of Gaṇapati, dated V.S. 134-, as he read it. But the date on the the illustration⁵ given by him is illegible.

We have no coins that can be assigned to any other dynasty whose inscriptions have been included in this work.

We have no coin issued by a ruler of any other of the dynasties included here, perhaps with the singular exception of Virasimha of the Kachchhapaghāta dynasty of Nalapura, who is known to us from a copper-plate grant dated V.S. 1177 (1120 A.C.)⁶ and we propose to discuss the coin-types attributed to this king.

A gold coin found in the Gorakhpur District was published by V.A. Smith in his article entitled 'Numismatic Notes and Novelties', in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LXVI (1897), p. 308, and Pl. The specimen shows, on the obverse, a two-lined legend in Nāgari characters, read by Smith as (1) *Śrīmad-Vīra* (2) *śimha Rāma*, and, on the reverse, the figure of the seated Lakshmi; and being unable to attribute it, he regarded the coin as a puzzle. Prof. V.V. Mirashi, who scrutinised the legend in it, held that its last letter is not *ma* but *va*;⁷ and taking the last two letters as *rāva*, as derived from the Sanskrit *rājan*, meaning a king, he attributed the specimen to Virasimha of the Kachchhapaghāta dynasty of Nalapura, to whose time the palaeography of the legend belongs.⁸

1 *C.M.I.*, p. 90.

2 *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XVI, p. 80 and Plate XII, Nos. 2-8.

3 For details, see Banerji's article, referred to above, p. 83.

4 *Ibid.*, Pl. XII, 9-14. The first of these years is perhaps a misprint for 1316, which is also the latest known date of Chāhaḍadēva, from his coins, as mentioned above.

5 *C.M.I.*, p. 93, No. 10, Pl. X.

6 See No. 157.

7 It is difficult to agree with Mirashi in his reading of this letter, which appears quite similar to *ma*, the second *akshara* in the first line.

8 *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XVIII (1942), p. 71. We have, however, no evidence to show that the title *rāva* was used with the name of this king.

INTRODUCTION

Referring to another gold coin, which is smaller, .45" in diameter and weighing 13.8 grains and published in the same *Journal*,¹ Mirashi is inclined to hold that this piece, which is a quarter-*suvarṇa*, was also struck by the same ruler. It is of a different type, showing the legend *Virasimhadēva* on its obverse, and the figure of horseman on the reverse.

This coin was found at Gwālior, which supports its attribution to this ruler. And the provenance of the first of these coins does not go against the view held by Mirashi, since we know that gold coins travel long and are found even outside the territory in which they were current.

In his grant referred to above, Virasimha claims imperial titles, and it is possible that he may have struck both these types. Mirashi has also pointed out that in an earlier age several Gupta kings issued gold coins of different types; but in our age the figure of the seated Lakshmi was generally associated with gold coins and no specimen in this metal, with the figure of a warrior, has so far been known from any part of India. Thus Virasimha appears to have designed a new type, which was copied by Chāhaḍa on his coins in copper.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

During the period under review, the Hindu society had become more or less stationary throughout India, and therefore the picture given in the following pages would not appear as altogether new. Nevertheless, it is desirable here to make a general resume of the social conditions prevalent in the region in our age, confining ourselves to the epigraphic records; and it is on very rare occasions that we have supplemented the description from the contemporary literary sources. For as I have often stated, the latter kind of work is so vast and of such a varied type as to form a subject of an altogether independent inquiry, and I shall not be justified in compressing it all in the limited space at my disposal.

The caste system is a social institution having a strong grip on the public mind, so far as to exert its influence even on the political and religious thoughts. The idea of the different castes is so deeply rooted in the Hindu society that it is current even to-day, more or less in the same form as in the days of its origin. In our age, as even in modern times, more stress was laid on *jāti* (birth) which makes heredity more predominant than *varṇa* which signifies culture, character and profession.²

The conventional number of castes is four, namely, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. Our period, however, is notable for showing a tendency to multiply the number of sub-castes. Al-Idrisi, who wrote in the beginning of the tenth century A.C., mentions the number of castes as seven, but Al-Birūnī, a writer of only a century later, states the number as sixteen.³

Of all the four fundamental castes mentioned above, the social status of the Brāhmaṇas of our period was considered to be the highest in all the kingdoms under review, as in the other parts of the country. The Brāhmaṇa community commanded reverence of all the other castes, as it happens to have been in charge of temples, educational centres and religious institutions. It may also be recalled here that in our age attempts were being made to deduce civil and religious laws to a system, and most of the works dealing with them were written by the Brāhmaṇa proteges, as we have

1 *Ibid.*, for 1936, Num. Suppl., No. XLVI, pp. 25 ff., and Pl.

2 See *H.D.*, Vol. II, p. 170 f.

3 See respectively, *Elliot*, Vol. I, pp. 16-17, 76; and *Sachau*, Vol. I, pp. 101 ff.

already seen above in the section dealing with literature.¹ This high status of the Brāhmaṇas, which was in vogue from the time when the Smritis came in form,² entitled them to enjoy several kinds of privileges such as receiving money, cows, free gifts of land, food, housing, exemption from taxes, and so on. In the grants they are mentioned with the prefix *Paṇḍita*, *Bhaṭṭa*, or with such honorific terms and with the suffix *śarman*, or *svāmin*.

In our period the Brāhmaṇas were distinguished by the Vēdas, *śākhās* and *gōtras*.³ The Gaonry grant of Vākpatirāja,⁴ for example, is particularly interesting in this connection as it introduces each of the donees by mentioning his original place, name, father's name, Vēda with *śākhā* and *gōtra* with *pravaras*. Thus we find that out of twenty six donees in all, who are mentioned in it as migrating from far and near places, four were Rīgvēdins, eleven Yajurvēdins and an equal number of them were Sāmavēdins. We also find that the Rīgvēdins had each a separate *gōtra*, the Yajurvēdins were all of different *gōtras*, except two who were of the same Bhārgava *gōtra*; and of the Sāmavēdins, two were of the Vasishṭha *gōtra*, two of Śāṇḍilya; and the rest were all of the different *gōtras*.

This way of mentioning the Brāhmaṇas can be noted also from the Chandēlla records and from those of the other dynasties,⁵ and this distinction continued down to the end of our period, though some of the details mentioned above are found lacking in some of the grants.

From about the middle of the twelfth century A.C., some of the Brāhmaṇas were also known after their duties, for example, Śukla, Pāthaka, Paṇḍita, Dikshita, Avasathin (a teacher), and so on, besides Dvivēda, Trivēda and Chaturvēda, all these terms being mentioned in a grant of 1225 A.C. and also in some others.⁶ Some of the still later Paramāra and Chandēlla grants mention the titles like *Thakkura*, *Nāyaka* and *Rāūra* attached to Brāhmaṇas' names. Some of these were later on known to have become surnames, along with *Nāgara*, *Śrīmālin*, *Dākshinātya* etc., which terms also are mentioned in some of the later grants.⁷ Besides all these we also note that it was in our period that the sub-castes of the Brāhmaṇas were also multiplying, as we can gather from the terms like *Chāturjātakiya* and *Vallōjakiya*, attached to the names of some of the Brāhmaṇas.⁸

It may also be observed here that almost to the end of our period the family names were not stereotyped in the Brāhmaṇa families, since we find that in a number of our grants the donee, his father and his grandfather have the same distinctive designation. For example, in the very first of the Paramāra grants, the donee, Ninā Dikshita is stated to have been the son of Lalla Upādhyāya; in another grant, Agnihōtrin Mādhava is mentioned as the son of Pāthaka Hariśarman and the grandson of Dvivēda Vēda;⁹ and in still another,¹⁰ one of the donees, Dvivēdin Gōvardhana, is mentioned as the son of Paṇḍita Vidyādhara and the grand-son of Chaturvēdin Bhūpatiśarman.

1 Cf. similar attempts in the Deccan, of Vijñānēśa and Hēmādri in the field.

2 Cf., for example, 'Vsiṣṭha's view referred to by Bhōja in the North and Hēmādri in the South. See *Vratākhaṇḍa*, p. 20. *Pāramparāgātā yēśhām Vēdās = tatparibhriṇiṇāṭy/Viśiṣṭha brāhmaṇā jñēyah Śruti-pratyaksha hētavaḥ*

3 See *H.D.*, Vol. II, pp. 131-132.

4 No. 6, II, 14 ff. Since this grant mentions most of the donees to have migrated to Mālwa from far-off places like Rādha, Uttarakula, Madhyadēśa, Śrāvastī, Khētaka, Lāṭa, etc., it seems that the statement of Al-Bīrūnī that a Brāhmaṇa "was obliged to dwell between the River Sindh in the north and the River Charmanvatī in the south" (*Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 134) was confined only to some regions of the country.

5 For example, see Nos. 63, 100, 107 and 157.

6 Nos. 51, 115 and 126.

7 See Nos. 1-2, and No. 40, I, 12, respectively. In No. 36 we have the expression *dvijasya Mālūra-amśajasya*. This person may have belonged to any of the first three castes.

8 No. 8, I, 7. *Chāturjātakiya* is explained by D.C. Sircar as belonging to the administrative board of four (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII p. 194), whereas by P. Bhatia, as a member of the assembly of those well versed in astronomy (*P.B.P.*, p. 239).

9 No. 57.

10 No. 60, II, 103-104.

What has been stated here is also to be found in the Chandēlla grants. For example, one of them mentions the donee Sahajū as a Paṇḍita, his father a *Thakkura*, his grandfather a Dvivēdin and his great-grandfather an Āvasathika.¹ In another Chandēlla grant, the donee, Paṇḍita Ānanda, is stated to have been the son of Chaturvēda Narasimha.² A Paramāra inscription from Sirōhi area mentions its writer as Vyāsa, who was the son of an Upādhyāya.³

The daily routine of a Brāhmaṇa house-holder was to perform the Smārta sacrifice and to observe the other kinds of religious duties. He devoted himself to the study of the Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas and the other Śāstras, including literature and art. That some of the Brāhmaṇas were not only conversant with these branches of knowledge but also experts in expounding them in public assemblies is also known from some of our inscriptions.⁴ This sort of pious life made them entitled to be addressed as *bhū-dēvas*, as we know from a number of our records, and in one of them even a Vaiśya calls himself as *bhū-dēva-bhakta*.⁵ A Brāhmaṇa was generally known to be impartial, as is evident from a royal charter dated V.S. 1192 (1135 A.C.), according to which the task of measuring land was entrusted to him (*Brāhmaṇa-māpyakīya-bhū-hala-dvaya*).⁶

In this respect it is also of interest to know that some of the Brāhmaṇas were recipients of more grants than one. For example, Sarvānanda, who received only one of the shares in a Paramāra grant, was also the donee of a village according to another grant;⁷ Viśvarūpa, who migrated from the south, was the donee of as many as three grants, one of which consisted of land and the other two of three villages;⁸ and Gōvinda, the spiritual preceptor (*Purōhita*) of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman, was the sole recipient of all the three grants issued by him.⁹ From this account it is evident that the Brāhmaṇas of our period were indeed very rich, and it is also known from our records that some of them utilised their wealth in works of public interest, for example, in building temples, excavating ponds and undertaking some other works of the type.¹⁰

The attitude of the society towards the Brāhmaṇa community, however, appears to have changed in our age. For whereas Mēdhātīthi, who flourished most probably in the ninth century A.C., forbids not only corporal punishment but even a money-fine to be inflicted upon a guilty Brāhmaṇa.¹¹ Vijñānēśvara, who wrote in the reign of Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.C.), was of the opinion that the privilege was applicable only to a learned Brāhmaṇa.¹² This evidently shows that the conduct prescribed by the Smritis as to be followed by the Brāhmaṇas of the preceding age had become somewhat loose in our age. This also shows that some of the Brāhmaṇas resorted to some other types of avocations; and this may be dealt with here, in brief.

We have instances of Brāhmaṇas entering in royal service. They worked as *Rājagurus* and priests (*Purōhitas*), who administered the affairs of religion and piety, and often drafted royal grants. They also picked up administrative and military service, high and low. To give a few instances out of the many, we know that Madana, the spiritual preceptor of the Paramāra Arjunavarman, drafted all the three of his grants; Vāsudēva

1 No. 119, ll. 16-17.

2 No. 126 l. 20.

3 No. 63.

4 See Nos. 107; 108, l. 17.

5 No. 50, v. 8.

6 No. 38, l. 1.

7 Nos. 6 and 7.

8 Nos. 31, 39 and 40.

9 Nos. 47-49.

10 For example, see Nos. 30, 63 and 136.

11 On *Manu*, VIII 124. For the time of Mēdhātīthi, see *H.D.*, Vol. I, p. 225.

12 On *Yāj.*, II, 4.

was the *Rājaguru* of the Chandēlla Kirtivarman.¹ Gāṅgadēva was the *Pratīhāra* (door-keeper) of the Paramāra king Jayavarman II, Yaśōdhara was the *Purōhita* of the Chandēlla king Dhaṅga;² Saṅgrāmasimha is mentioned as the *Mahāpratihāra* of Madanavarman;³ and we find priests attached to Madanavarman's queens also.⁴ Bilhaṇa was the Minister for War and Peace (*sāndhivigrahika*) under the Paramāra kings Vindhavarman, Arjunavarman, Dēvapāla and Jaitugi; he also drafted some grants. Anata was a Minister under the Chandēlla king Kirtivarman; Dēlhaṇa was a Minister under the Ābū Paramāra king Pratāpasimha; and Vāmana was a *Sāndhivigrahika* under the Vāgaḍa Paramāra king Vijayarāja.⁵ Some of the Brāhmaṇas also worked as royal messengers (*dūtakas*)⁶ i.e., conveyors of royal messages (about sanctioning grants).

Ours was a warlike age and it must naturally have requisitioned the services of some of the Brāhmaṇas who liked that profession. We know well of the instance of the Brāhmaṇa general Gōpāla who brought victory to the Chandēlla king Kirtivarman, as the *Prabōdhachandrōdaya* tells us. Madanapāla was another Brāhmaṇa general under the Chandēlla Madanavarman, and Vikrama under the Paramāra king Naravarman.⁷ All these are only a few of the numerous examples that we find in our inscriptions. Thus the statement of Manu who allows Brāhmaṇas to use weapons only when in distress, appears to have been modified in our age when we find a number of Brāhmaṇas picking up the military service of their own accord.

Some of the Brāhmaṇas also appear to have adopted the profession of agriculturists, as implied by the expression *kṛishatām karshayatām vā*, which is repeatedly mentioned in our grants. But we have not even one instance in our epigraphs to show that a Brāhmaṇa had adopted the profession of the Vaiśyas, though we learn from the *Śṛīṅāramañjarikathā* that a Brāhmaṇa of the name of Mādhava did good business in Simhaladvipa.⁸

In two of the copper-plate grants we find the expression "*utkīrṇam = idanpam (Paṇḍita) V)B)āpyadēvēna*."⁹ And since this title is here found attached to the name of an engraver, it may be concluded that some of the Brāhmaṇas may also have adopted this profession, unless we presume that the word is either loosely used in such cases or it is put only with the intention of showing the efficiency of the engraver.

The Kshatriyas were next to the Brāhmaṇas in the social scale. An inscription from Baḍōḍī (Shivpurī District) mentions the Kshatriyas almost at par with the Brāhmaṇas,¹⁰ which shows that in some of the regions the conditions differed.

Our epigraphs do not throw much light on the social status of this caste, but we know that all the kings themselves were Kshatriyas, as some others belonging to the contemporary ruling families. We have however, also to admit here that the mention of the word Kshatriya occurs rather late in all our records, wherever it is found. It is also possible that some of the clans which were warlike by nature or which preferred the profession of arms were also incorporated in this caste.

1 Nos. 47-49; and No. 110, respectively.

2 See No. 57, and No. 114, v. 56, respectively.

3 No. 114, ll. 2-3.

4 No. 129.

5 See Nos. 47-51; No. 125; No. 82, and No. 90, respectively.

6 No. 1, l. 26; No. 2, l. 28; and No. 38, l. 13, which are only a few examples.

7 No. 129, l. 19; and No. 30, respectively. Madanavarman received the gift on an eclipse, with the mention "for the benefit of the parents (of the donor) and one's own self".

8 *S.M.K.*, p. 28. He may have done it through an agent, for which cf. Al-Beruni's statement in *Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 132.

9 Nos. 48-49.

10 Cf. *Kshatrō varṇah sa jayati mahādēva-sādharāṇa-śrīh* in No. 161 v. 10.

The Kshatriyas read and learnt the Vēdas but did not teach them. Their duty was to protect the other *varṇas*, and to die on the battle-field was considered to be the highest bliss.¹ The Kshatriyas followed the Paurāṇic form of religion, as we know from the practice observed by the kings while making donations. The concluding verses of our grants are actually borrowed from the Smṛitis and the Purāṇas.

The members of this caste had no *gōtra* of their own, and generally they adopted the *gōtra* of their *Purōhita*, as enjoined by the *Mitāksharā*² and some other works. From our inscriptions we know of a solitary instance of the Kshatriya general Anayasimha whose *gōtra*, along with the *pravaras*, is mentioned in a record.³ He appears to have had the status of a Minister and probably of the Chief Minister, as he is said to have been in charge of the (royal) seal.⁴ Another Minister belonging to the Kshatriya caste is mentioned in an inscription from the Shivpuri District, dated V.S. 1336 (1279 A.C.).⁵ These instances undoubtedly show that during our period the members of this caste not only took part in warfare but also occupied high posts in civil administration. Like the Brāhmaṇas, whose instances we have seen above, some of the members of the Kshatriya community of our period may also have followed the profession of agriculturists. This is shown not by any of our inscriptions but by some of the later Smṛiti writers like Gautama and Parāśara, the former of whom allows a member of the Kshatriya caste to cultivate land through an agent, and the latter observes that a Kshatriya engaged in agriculture should worship Brāhmaṇas and gods, probably by way of an expiation.⁶ Thus it is possible to conclude that some of the Kshatriyas, though in rare cases, followed some other professions in our period.

The Vaiśyas, who constituted an important class of the people, enjoyed a high status in the society in our age. We have instances to show that they were honoured by the royal families. Thus, Pāhilla, who presented gardens to a temple of Jinanātha at Khajurāhō, was "an object of honour of the Chandēlla king Dhaṅga"; another Vaiśya, Sahaja, who constructed a Jaina temple at Arthūnā in the reign of Chāmuṇḍarāja of the Vāgaḍa royal court (*mānyō rāja-grihē*); and a record from the Gwālior region tells us that two brothers belonging to this caste, viz., Rishi and Dāhaḍa, were endowed by the Kachchhapaghāta king Vikramasimha with the title of *śrēṣṭhin*.⁷

The Smṛitis prescribe agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade to be followed by the members of the Vaiśya community; but in our age these people appear to have been devoted mainly to the last of these professions. They had their own associations.⁸ The Vaiśyas in our time were known generally by their family-names, such as Grahapati (modern Gahois) and Dharkuṭa (modern Dhākaḍa), but occasionally even after the place of their origin, as we know from the expression *Nāgaravanik* which appears in one of our records.⁹ They contributed liberally to charitable institutions, built temples and consecrated images, of which we have a number of instances in our records.¹⁰

1 See No. 33, v. 25; and No. 83, v. 29.

2 On *Yāj*, I, 53.

3 No. 60, ll. 125 ff.

4 *Ibid.* v. 56.

5 No. 161, v. 22.

6 *Gautama*, X; and *Pār. Smṛiti*, II, 18. Also compare the statement of Al-Bīrūnī, viz. that to quit the duties and works of one's own caste and adopt those of another caste is a sin (*Sachau*, Vol. I, p. 103).

7 See No. 99, v. 1; No. 86, v. 8; and No. 154, v. 24, respectively.

8 See No. 84, v. 77; and No. 154, v. 34.

9 See No. 133, v. 1; No. 92, l. 8; and No. 90, v. 5, respectively.

10 Some of these examples are to be found in Nos. 17, 20, 35, 90, 92, 109, 123, 127, 133 and 159, which are from our region.

The Vaiśyas were generally Jains; but some of them followed the Brāhmanic form of religion, as we know from the instance of Kēśava, who was a Vaiśya and who constructed a Śiva temple, and also from that of as many as five members of the Dharkuṭa family who were zealously devoted to the Sun.¹

The Śūdras stood at the other end of the social scale. In the earlier times they were required to wash the feet of the Brāhmaṇas and other guests and thus they were not considered as untouchables; but the increasing narrow attitude of the society branded these people with the stigma of untouchability.²

The lowest of the Śūdras were *antyajas*, among whom the Mēdas and the Bhillas were also included. Most of them lived in the forest. It is interesting to note that in some of the Chandēlla grants the Mēdas and the Chāṇḍālas are mentioned among those before whom the royal grants were pronounced.³ We have a singular epigraphic instance from the Sirōhi region to show that in some tracts at least, slavery was forced on the Chāṇḍālas, who were not only captured but were also beaten like dogs and asses.⁴

There was another category of the Śūdras living in the forest. They were troublesome to the townsmen and the travellers, whom they plundered and also to the traders by looting their caravans. These foresters are also mentioned in our inscriptions; they had to be subdued and brought under control.⁵

Reverting to the case of the *antyajas*, we find that the outlook of the society was not always uniform towards them. This is evident from the statement of Al-Bērūnī, who states that they were not included even among the Śūdras but occupied a still lower level and were only members of a certain craft or profession. According to him, they were the fuller, shoemaker, juggler, the basket and shield maker, the sailor, fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and of birds, and the weaver. Besides these, he also mentions some other people who were not reckoned amongst any guild but were considered as one sole class.⁶ Al-Bērūnī's statement deserves some credence as he was a contemporary writer, though the classes of the different kinds of the people mentioned by him are found to be occasionally overlapping.

The *Śringātrakathāmañjarī*, which is another contemporary work, mentions fortune-tellers (*śākunika*), magicians (*indrajāla*), those who followed mesmerism (*mōhana-vidyā*), and besides these, oilmen (*tailika*) medicine-men (*vaidya*), weaver (*tantuvāya*), keepers of gambling and slaughter houses, barber and hunter.⁷ Some of these terms are occasionally found in our inscriptions also, but the list from both the above-mentioned works, which is of course not exhaustive, gives at least an idea of the different sorts of professions followed in our period, almost throughout the region under study.

Our inscriptions have occasional references to workers in metal, stones, precious stones and also to artisans, engineers and to those who sold articles of daily use, as we have already seen while dealing with the economical conditions of the time. These professions may have been responsible for forming separate castes which multiplied in our age, already remarked above.

The term Kāyastha, which according to the earlier Smṛitis, inscriptions and general literature, signifies a royal office and as such designated a professional group, came to denote a caste some time in the latter half of the ninth century which is almost the

1 No. 50, v. 10; and No. 92, 11. 11-12, respectively.

2 For details, see *A.I.K.*, p. 370 ff.; and *S.E.*, pp. 475.

3 For example, see No. 119, 1. 9, and No. 126, 1. 9. Also see No. 141, (II), 1. 8.

4 No. 71, 1. 10.

5 No. 150, v. 22.

6 *Sachau*, Vol I, p. 101.

7 *S.M.K.*, p. 84.

dawn of our period. The members of this group were entitled to the ceremony of initiation and thence to all the privileges of a twice-born man.¹ The Mōḍi inscription of V.S. 1314 (1258 A.C.) prefixes the title *Paṇḍita* to the name of Arjuna, who was a Kāyastha; and this shows that the members of this caste probably came to be reckoned as Brāhmaṇas in an age when even foreign tribes like the Śakas, the Gūrjaras and the Hūṇas were completely absorbed in the Hindu society, which also indicates that the caste-system had not then become very rigid.

The earliest known epigraphic reference to this caste, as far as known to me, occurs in an inscription from Valabhī, dated 871 A.C.² Towards the beginning of our period, the members of this caste rose into eminence, and they are also known to have occupied important administrative and military posts in its different tracts. As regards their origin, the undated Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of the time of Bhōjavarman states that the Vāstavya clan of this caste derived its name from Vāstu, who resided at Takkārikā and a group of thirty-six towns which were "purified by the fact that men of the writer caste dwell in them"³ The same record also tells us that the members of this caste held positions of importance under the Chandēlla kings Gaṇḍa, Kirtivarman, Paramardin, Trailōkyavarman and Bhōjavarman.⁴

Another version is recorded in an inscription from the same place and dated V.S. 1345. It traces the descent of the Kāyasthas from the sage Kāśyapa, the son of fire (*Jātavēdas*), through his son Kuśa.⁵ The same epigraph further tells us that Hārūka, who was born in the same Vāstavya clan, was a politician; his son Jalhana, a pious man; and the latter's descendant, Nāna, was a Minister under Bhōjavarman, by whom he was honoured. A still other inscription from the same place informs us that Jājūka, who knew all the arts, Purāṇas, and the Dharmaśāstras and literature, helped the Chandēlla king Gaṇḍa, and his descendent Mahēśvara was of great help to Kirtivarman in his distress and established him as the sovereign lord of his kingdom.⁶ Still another origin of the Kāyasthas is suggested by the expression *kāyasth-ākṣhila-vidya*, which occurs in another Chandēlla inscription of 1171 A.C., signifying that Prithvidhara, for whom it is used, had mastered all the branches of Knowledge.⁷ A Paramāra inscription of 1258 A.C. uses the expression *kāyasthiraś=chā-ānvayē*, meaning that the person for whom it is used had his body firm,⁸ that is, free from passion.

Whatever may have been the truth, we find that the members of this community were proficient in all the arts and sciences. We have also a number of records composed by them, besides the fact that they occupied high civil and military service in the government of the kingdoms of our time. We also have a number of records composed

1 *A.I.K.*, p. 372. The question has been discussed by P.V. Kane in his *H.D.* (Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 75-77), and giving evidences from works including those of our period, viz., the *Mitāksharā* (1070-1100 A.C.), Aparārka's com. on the *Yaj Smṛiti* (c. 1125 A. C.) and the *Smṛitichandrikā* (1200-1255 A.C.), he concluded that the Kāyasthas who were originally royal officers had come to form a caste in medieval times. He also refers to Brihaspati (quoted in the *Smṛitichandrikā*), according to whom these people, viz., the *ganakas* and the *lekṭhakas* who formed the Kāyastha caste, were *dvijas*.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 243.

3 No. 150, vv. 2-4. There is difference of opinion as regards the identification of this place. According to V.V. Mirashi, it is probably identical with the homonymous village in the Gayā District in Bihār and was known as the home of the Brāhmaṇas. See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. clxvi. It is interesting to note in this connection that whereas only three Brāhmaṇas from this place migrated to the Chandēlla kingdom (Nos. 100, 107 and 118), as many as fourteen came to the Paramāra kingdom (Nos. 51, 57 and 60), and also that of the last mentioned, three were Rīgvēdins, five Yajurvēdins and two Sāmavēdins.

4 *Ibid.*

5 No. 149 of V.S. 1345. Also see No. 112, which is earlier.

6 No. 112.

7 No. 129, v. 6.

8 No. 56, l. 9.

by them. Some also earned their living by writing the *prāśastis* on stone and still some others by engraving them.¹

That the Kāyasthas held important posts not only under the Chandēllas but also under the other ruling dynasties of the time is evident from references to them in our epigraphs, e.g. Bhuvanapāla was the Treasury Officer under the Kachchhapaghāta king Mahipāla;² Vamana was a Minister of Peace and War under the Paramāra king Chāmuṇḍarāja of Vāgaḍa;³ Lohaja was a Treasury Officer under the Yajvapāla king Gaṇapatidēva;⁴ and Rudrāditya and Ajayadēva were Ministers under the Paramāra kings Vākpatirāja and Jayavarman II, respectively.⁵

The Kāyasthas were employed in royal service, not only as scribes and writers of state documents and public accounts officers, but they also distinguished themselves as military leaders, examples of which are numerous in our records.

Like the members of some other castes of the time, the Kāyasthas were also often known after their original place, e.g., Māthura (from Mathurā) and Vālabhya (from Valabhi)⁶ Those whose forefathers were originally residing at Takkarikā (also spelt as Takkārikā) bore the surname Śrīvāstava; and we have also the mention of the word *Naigama*,⁷ after which the Nigama clan was known. As the dictionary meaning shows, these people (the Nigamas) were either experts in expounding the sacred lore, or were efficient tradesmen. If the latter of these meaning is accepted here, it also appears that some of the members of this community were earning their livelihood by trade.

The high social status of the Kāyasthas in our period is known from the fact that in some of the Chandēlla grants they are included among those before whom the royal grants were announced.⁸

All the cases mentioned here were devoted to the duties of their respective office; and besides this, we have instances to show that they all led corporate life in the interest of the whole population of the place they lived in. An inscription from the Sirōhi region informs us that the Brāhmanas of a place voluntarily contributed for excavating a stepped well at the village of Bhārūṇḍ;⁹ and we have also an instance to show when some of the townsmen who were in charge of the management of a temple even collected self-imposed taxes.¹⁰

Joint-family system was generally in vogue in our age. In some of the records we observe that when an individual built a temple, the names of all his brothers, their wives and their sons are mentioned in the inscription recording it.¹¹ But there may have been cases when the members of some families had their separate establishments. This inference may probably be drawn from the fact that out of the two Harsōlā grants of Siyaka, one was issued in favour of the Upādhyāya Lalla and the other in favour of his son Nina.¹²

1 See No. 110, l. 17; No. 15, ll. 26-28; No. 90, l. 29 (he was also a Minister of Peace and War); Nos. 114, 136-161 and 175.

2 No. 156, v. 12.

3 No. 90.

4 No. 179, v. 27.

5 The former of these is known from the *P.C.M.* and the latter from No. 56. *Lipikrit* and *Karanika* are some other words which are perhaps synonymous of Kāyastha. See No. 175 v. 26, etc.

6 Respectively mentioned in No. 158 and No. 175, v. 27.

7 No. 56, l. 45.

8 For example, in No. 118, l. 6; No. 119, l. 9; and No. 126, l. 9.

9 No. 63.

10 No. 84, v. 68.

11 For example, in No. 159.

12 Nos. 1 and 2.

The Bhārūṇḍ inscription, which is referred to above, informs us that while building a stepped well at that place some persons and their sons had made separate contributions.¹

A man generally married a woman of his own caste, though examples of marrying girls of other castes were not unknown. The *Tilakamañjarī* tells us of the marriage of a boy of the merchant community with the daughter of a sailor.² But such cases were exceptional and did not represent the general practice of the age, at least in the Brahmanical community, as it seems from the statement of Albēruni, viz., that in his time the Brāhmaṇas did not avail themselves of this liberty and were invariably marrying women of their caste only.³

Every person had ordinarily one wife. No direct evidence is available to show that polygamy was an accepted practice in the general public in our age. We have no doubt some instances of kings who had more than one wife; for example, Sindhurāja married Śaṣiprabhā when he was perhaps already the father of Bhōja; Udayāditya who, according to the *Rāsamālā*, had two queens, one of the Chaulūkyā clan and the other of the Vāghelā clan; and of his descendent Arjunavarman who married a Chaulūkyā princess as well as a Kuntalā princess. From the Vindhya region we have the example of the Chandēlla king Madanavarman who had not less than three queens, one of whom was the Mahishī or Mahādēvī (chief queen).⁴ From the *Tilakamañjarī* we also know that some of the feudatory chiefs married more than one girl.⁵ But all these instances pertain to the royal families and they do not necessarily indicate that it was an accepted practice among the general public.

A Paramāra inscription from the Vāgaḍa region informs us that Bhūṣhaṇa, a devout Jaina, had two wives, viz., Lakshmi and Śilā, the latter of whom is stated in it to have had a number of sons,⁶ but as no son of the former of them is mentioned, it may probably be concluded that this person married the second wife because the first was issueless. To give here one more example from an inscription from Sesal (Shivpuri District), we learn that Jaitrasimha, who was an officer under the Yajvapāla king Gōpāla, also had two wives;⁷ but besides the fact that this record belongs to a later period (1284 A.C.), the details are not recorded; and therefore it does not help us to arrive at any conclusion on the point.

Albēruni, who visited India in 1030 A.C., observed in a general way that "Some Hindus think that the number of wives depends upon the caste; that, accordingly, a Brāhmaṇa may take four, a Kshatriya three, a Vaiśya two wives, and a Śūdra one."⁸ These remarks, though pertaining to a time earlier than that of the record referred to above, appear to belong to some particular region and we do not know whether they were equally applicable in case of Mālwa and Bundelkhand.

From stray references in the contemporary literature we know that in our time the women were well dressed and they bedecked their body with ornaments and flowers. An inscription from the Vāgaḍa region, dated V.S. 1344 (1285-86 A.C.), describes the town of Arthūṇā and its precincts as resonant with the jingling sound of the ornaments of

1 No. 63.

2 See *T.M.* (Ind edn.), p.129.

3 *Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 156.

4 See No. 119.

5 As noted in *P.B.P.*, p. 286. Here P. Bhatia follows what is stated by G.H. Ojha in his *Rājputāṇḍ-kā-līhāsa*, Vol. I p. 177, viz., that the Sirōhi king Dhārāvarsha had two wives - Gīgādēvī and Śrīngārādēvī; but this is due to the mis-reading the first of the names, for which see our remarks in the political history of the house.

6 No. 90, vv. 20-21. Also see No. 125, v. 34.

7 No. 177, l. 8.

8 *Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 155.

women residing there.¹ These ornaments were mostly, as we learn from the *Śringāramañjarikathā* and the *Tilakamañjarī*, the varied kinds of ear-rings (*tāṭaṅka*, *dantapatra*, *kuṇḍala* and *karnapūra*), armlet (*kēyūra*), neck-garland, anklet *nūpura*, finger-ring, and so on.²

The rite of *sati* was no doubt in vogue; but from the whole lot we have only four examples, two of which are from Ajaygaḍh (Vindhya region), and the remaining two from the Shivpurī region,³ probably showing that this custom was not only becoming extinct but was also confined to some of the tracts. The less occurrence of this rite seems to be probably due to its condemnation by some authorities who flourished in about our period.⁴ It was for the widow to exercise her option in the matter of self-immolation. Those who did not undergo this custom led the life of strict celibacy, some of them also looking after the property of their deceased husband and utilising it for public affairs; whereas some of them also worked as regents in the administration of their sons who were on the throne.⁵

The age-old custom of appointing maidens for service in temples continued to exist in our period, as shown by a Kachchhapaghāta inscription dated V.S. 1150 (1092 A.C.).⁶ This statement is supported by the *Śringāramañjarikathā*, which is attributed to Bhōjadēva.⁷ This work tells us that the courtesan should know the local dialect; she should be civilised in talks, distinguished in arts, alert in eloquence, expert in dancing, moderate in drinking, away from vices and great in sacrifice.⁸ She held high position in the royal court. In his *Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa* Bhōja tells us that a courtesan should be conversant with all the sixty-four arts.⁹ Her office in the royal court is highly spoken of also in the *Tilakamañjarī*.¹⁰ It thus appears that it is not only due to her charm but also due to her accomplishment that she came to occupy a responsible position in the society of those days.

These respectable members of the society were of course distinguished from the *Vēśyās* or common women, comparable to the *hetaera* of Pericles' Athens, or the *geisha* in Japan. They were taught singing, dancing and general etiquette. With their considerable talent and accomplishment, they were not only admitted to the royal court but also played an eminent role in the cultural society.

We now close this Section by giving an account of the festivals and means of amusement, besides those which have already been mentioned above in the Section on Religion and which were current in our time. Our epigraphs mention the *Akshaya-tritīyā* which fell on the third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha,¹¹ the *Dēvaśayani* and the *Dēvūthānī śkādaśīs* falling respectively in the bright half of Āshāḍha and Kārtika,¹² and the *Vasanta-pāñchanī*, the fifth day of the bright half of Māgha.¹³ Of these, the first and the third are known as the *Yugādi tithis*, the first day of the Trētā and the Dvāpara

1 No. 82, v. 53.

2 S.K.M., p. 75; T.M., pp. 130-226, 230 and so on.

3 Nos. 152-53 and Nos. 161-62, respectively.

4 See *Aparārka* (c. 1187 A.C.) on Yāj., I, 87; and *Mēdhātithi* on *Mamī*, V, 156. According to P.V. Kane, *Mēdhātithi* most probably flourished between 825 and 900 A.C. (*H.D.*, Vol. I, p. 225).

5 Vide Nos. 62 and 82, respectively.

6 No. 155, v. 74.

7 S.M.K., 8th Tale.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

9 S.K.B., p. 494. According to the *Vaijayanī*, a lexical work of about the 11-12th century, the *ganikā* (courtesan) is a king's favourite (not married to him), versed in different fine arts. See S.E., p. 479.

10 Cf. *Vāra-vanītabhir-upaviṣyamānaḥ* and *-krita-āvataraṇa-maṅgalah*, on pp. 65 and 53, respectively.

11 Nos. 70, 90 and 114.

12 No. 158 and No. 68, respectively.

13 Nos. 11 and 124.

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yuga, respectively. It is interesting to note that these festivals were also observed by the Jaina community which consecrated images of the Tirthankaras on these auspicious occasions.¹ The *Vasanta-pañchamī*, which is a sacred day associated with the goddess of Learning, appears to have been celebrated with great pomp and joy throughout the kingdom of the Paramāras, who were devoted to her. The *Pārijātamañjarī*, as we know, was staged for the first time at a spring festival, in the temple of the goddess of Learning, at Dhār; and Bhōja issued his Bānswādā grant on the same day, which probably shows the re-celebration of his victory over Kōṅkaṇa, as already recorded in his Bētmā grant, probably issued earlier.

Besides the *Ekādaśī*, particularly the *Dēvōthānī* and the *Dēvaśayanī*, our records also mention some other festivals like the *Mahāvaiśākhi* (the full-moon day of Vaiśākha), as a *parva*, the *Rathasaptamī*, the seventh day of the bright half of Vaiśākha,² and *Dipōtsava*, i.e., the *Dipāvalī*.³

Another festival known as *Damanaka parva* is referred to in the Shērgaḍh inscription of Udayāditya. It was celebrated on the fourteenth of the bright half of Chaitra when a branch of the Damana tree was offered to Śiva or Viṣṇu, with a prayer to him and to Madana for bestowing happiness and felicity on the whole household.⁴

Here we may also briefly enumerate some of the festivals mentioned in the contemporary literature. *Anāṅgōtsava*, or *Madana-trayōdaśī*, is mentioned in the *Tilaka-mañjarī*, as celebrated on a grand scale by all the females of a town and particularly by the virgins.⁵ It is interesting to note here that the Paramāra king Trailōkyavarman built a temple of Chandrabandhu (Madana) on the bank of the Vētravatī (Betwā) at Vidishā.⁶ This festival is also referred to by Bhōja in his *Śringāraprakāśa*, according to which, on this day the ladies of a place bathe, and bedecked with fine saffron coloured dress, they worship the god of Love.⁷

A large number of love festivals and their aspects are mentioned by Bhōja in his *Śringāraprakāśa* Chapter XXIII. The division in which they are described is season-wise; for example, ten to be celebrated in the spring season; three in summer; six in the rainy days and as many as seventeen in the autumn.⁸

It may also be remarked that besides all those mentioned here, poetic assemblies and staging dramas were some other means of popular amusement and pastime. Muñja and Bhōja are well known for their poetic conferences. We have instances of the *Pārijātamañjarī* and the *Prabōdhachandrōdaya* which were staged to commemorate the victory of the Paramāra Arjunavarman and the Chandēlla Kirtivarman, respectively; and the dramas written by Vatsarāja, a protege of the Chandēlla king Paramardin and also the *Pārthaparākramavyāyōga* composed by Dhārāvarsha's younger brother, Prahlādana, are the other instances of the type. According to the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (Ch. XV, 18), the royal palace contained a separate chamber for singing, dancing and such other types of means of amusements.

We have also occasional references in our inscriptions and the contemporary literary works, to some other means of popular amusements, for example, playing with balls

1 Nos. 90 and 124.

2 Respectively see Nos. 82, v. 38; 158; 46; 132.

3 No. 84, l. 48. Also see P.C.M., p. 46.

4 *Smṛiti-Kaustubha*, pp. 19 ff., as noted by A.S. Altekar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 134. It is our No. 23.

5 T.M., pp. 68, 243-44.

6 No. 42, v. 7.

7 S.P. Vol. IV, p. 853.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 649 ff.

(*kanduka-kriḍā*), dancing,¹ singing, excursions to gardens, gambling,² hunting, wrestling, witnessing dramatic performances etc, showing thereby that they were current throughout our period in this region as also in the other parts of the country.

1 No. 136, v. 17. Also see No. 155, v. 74.

2 P.C.M., p. 24.

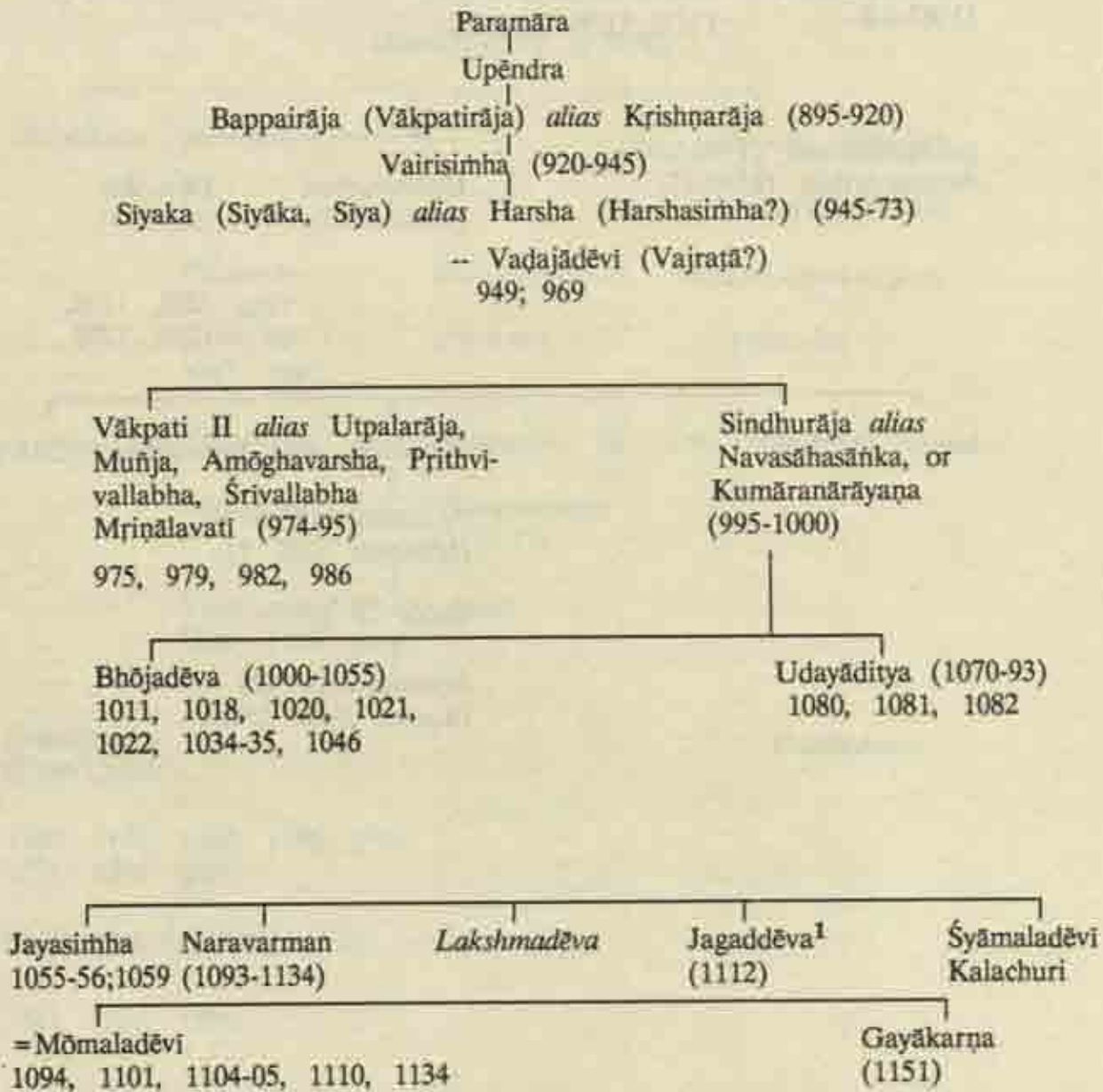
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GENEALOGICAL TABLES

All the dates given below are in the Christian era. Approximate reign-periods are given in brackets and the known dates under the respective names of the kings. Bearing in mind the maxim "History without dates is a grand-mother's tale", I have tried to give dates in all cases; and where no help is available, I have allowed the usual average of 20 to 25 years to each reign, with a fair margin for errors. In a few cases, the dates are highly speculative.

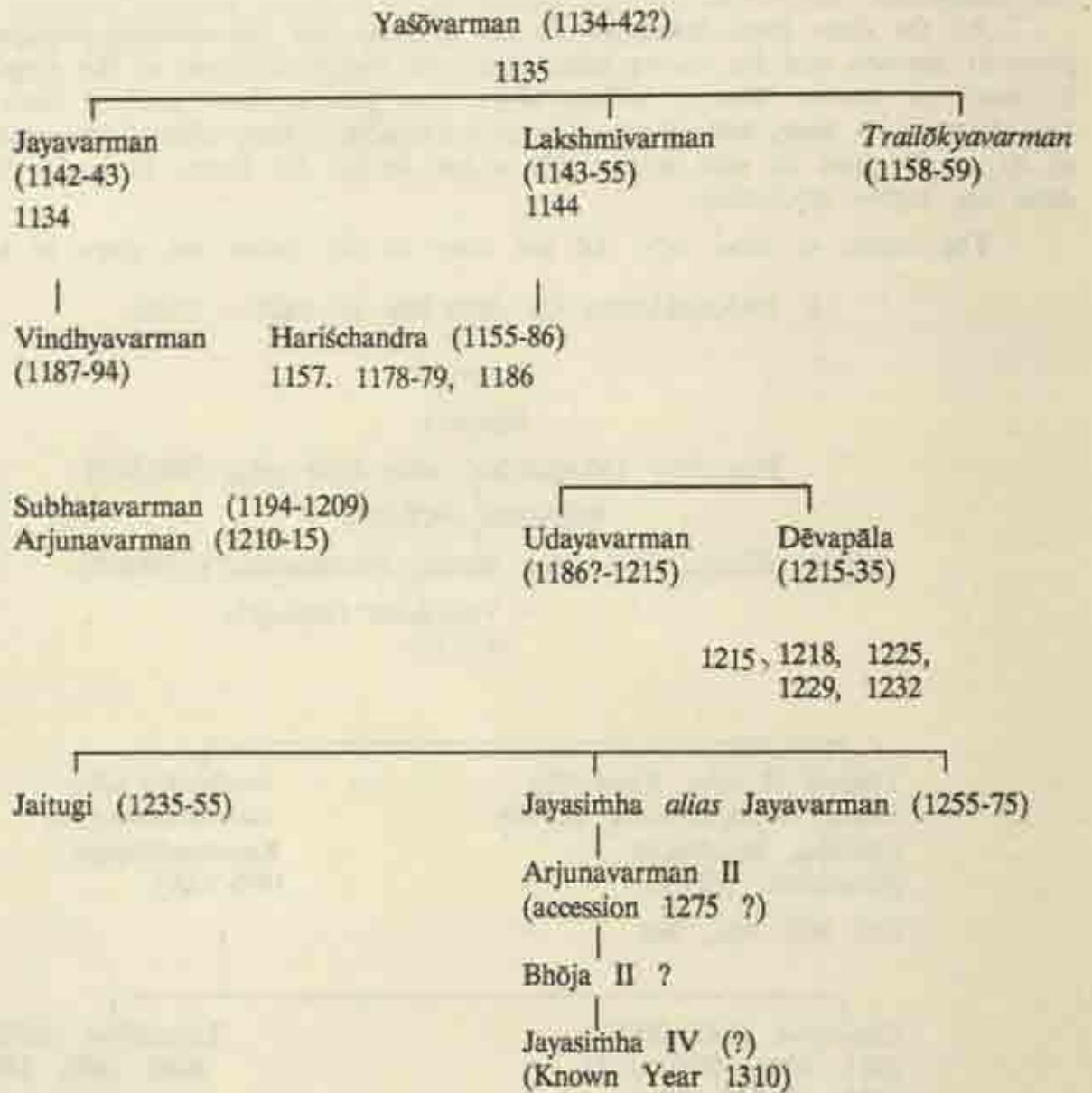
The names of those who did not come to the throne are given in italics.

I. PARAMĀRAS OF MĀLWĀ (c. 850? - 1310)



¹ Did not ascend the throne in Mālwa.

GENEALOGY



II. PARAMĀRAS OF ĀBŪ (c. 900-1300)

Utpalarāja¹ (910-30)

Kṛishṇarāja I(950-70)

Dhūrbhaṭa (990-1000)

Dhandhuka(1020-40)

Kṛishṇadēva(-rāja) II

(1060-90)

Kakaladēva III (1090-1115)

Vikramasimha
(1115-45)

Dhārāvārsha
(1160-1220)

1180, 1183, 1188, 1192, 1198,
1214, 1216 1219

1221, 1232, 1235

Kṛishṇadēva III (1240-1260?)

Pratāpasimha (1260?-1285)

Arjuna (?) (1285-95?)
(1290)

GENEALOGY

III. PARAMĀRAS OF VĀGAḌA (c. 925-1110)

Vairisimha ¹ —	Dambarasimha— (930-55)	Name unknown
		Chachchha (Kaṅka) (955-970)
		Chaṇḍapa (970-1000)
		Satyarāja (1000-1025)
	Limbarāja (1025-1040)	Maṇḍalika (1040-70) 1059
		Chāmuṇḍarāja (1070-1105)
		1080, 1101
		Vijayarāja (1105-1110?)
		1108, 1109

IV. PARAMĀRAS OF BHINMĀL-KIRĀḌU (c. 950-1185)

Sindhurāja
Dūsala (or Ūsala?)
Dharaṇivarāha ²
Dēvarāja
1002 (or, 1012 ?)
Dhandhūka
Kṛishṇarāja ³
1060, 1067
Sōchchharāja ⁴ (1100-1125)
Udayarāja (1125-45)
Sōmēśvara (1145-1165) ⁵
Jayatsimha ⁶
1183

1 The Paramāra ruler of Mālwa. Dambarasimha is mentioned as his brother.

2 Down to this ruler the genealogy is the same as of the Ābū Paramāra branch.

3 Kṛishṇarāja or Kṛishṇadēva II of the Ābū branch.

4 Brother of Kākaladēva of the Ābū branch.

5 The portion of the stone is broken before the mention of this ruler, and his relationship with his predecessor is not known. But very probably he was the son of his predecessor.

6 He is mentioned as a *Mahārājakula*; probably a son of Sōmēśvara?

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V. PARAMĀRAS OF JĀLŌR

(c. 960-1125)

Vākpatirāja (960-985)

Chandana (985-1010)

Dēvarāja (1010-35)

Aparājita (1035-60)

Vijjala (1060-1085)

Dhārāvarsha (1085-1109)

Visala (1109-1119)

1109, 1119

VI. CHANDELLAS OF JĒJĀKABHUKTI

(c. 800-1315)

Nannuka *alias* Chandravarman (?)
831

Vākpati (840-60)

Jayaśakti *alias*
Jējaka or Jējja (Jējā)

(860-890)¹

Vijayaśakti *alias*
Vijjaka or Vijja
(Vija)

Rahila (890-910)

Harsha = Kañchukā
(910-30)

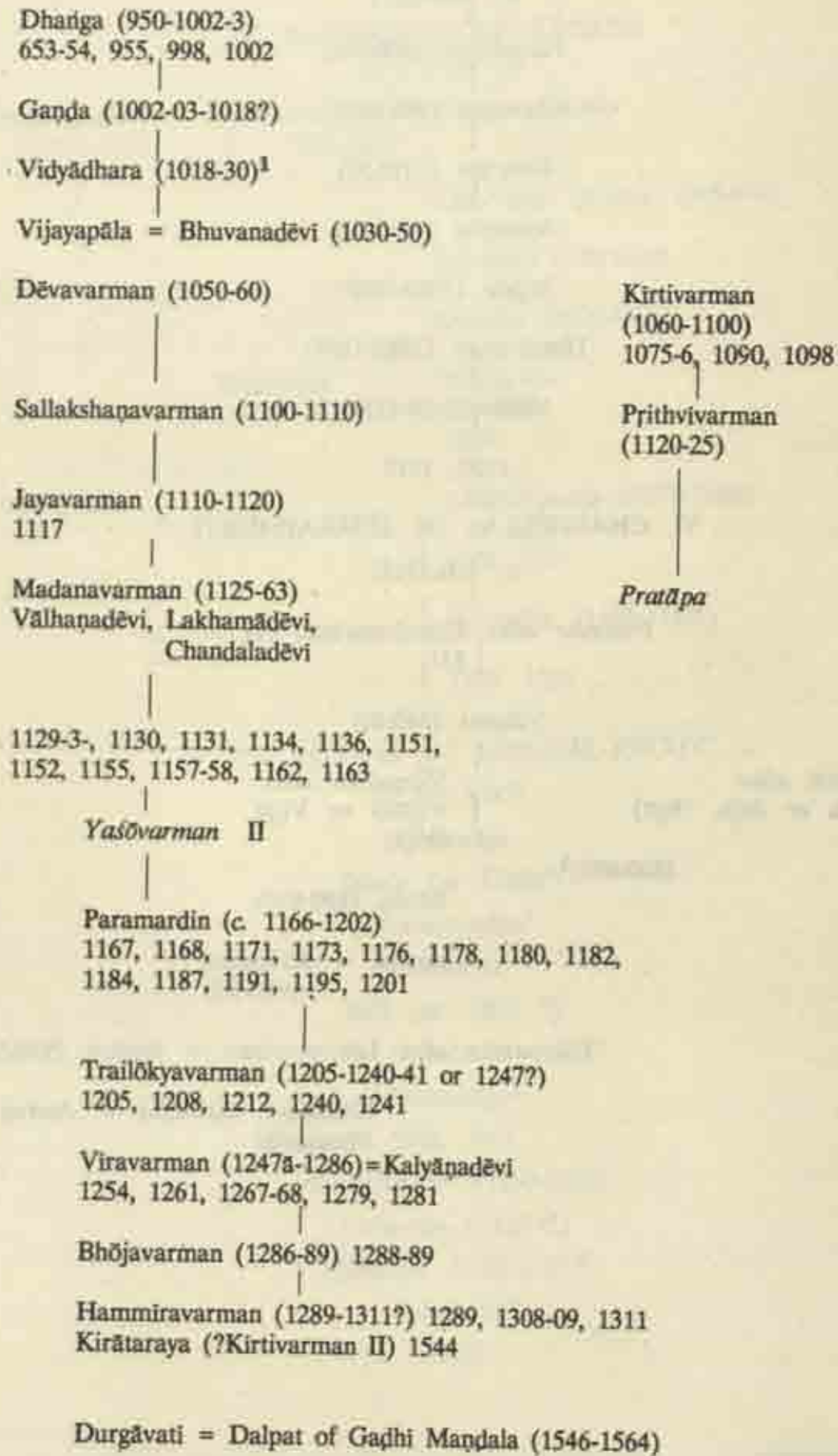
Yaśōvarman *alias* Lakshavarman = Pushpā (930-50)

Kṛishṇapa (Kṛishṇa) = Asarva
Dēvalabdhī

¹ It cannot be known when the reign of the former of these kings terminated and hence we have assigned total period to both these brothers as they are also mentioned together in the inscriptions of the dynasty.

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GENEALOGY



1. The lower limit of the reign of this king is highly conjectural. S.K. Mitra takes it 1022 A.C. See the genealogical table in *E.R.K.* P. 238.

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VII. DYNASTY OF VIJAYAPĀLA (of Rājgnōd)

(c. 1090-1110)

Prithvipāla (1090-1110)

Tihunapāla (Tribhuvanapāla) 1110-30)

INTRODUCTION

Vijayapāla (1130-50)¹ 1132-33

Śūrapāla (1150-70)

Mahākumāra Amṛitapa 1155

VIII. KACHCHHAPAGHĀTA DYNASTY²

(1) *Gwallior* Branch (950-1105)

Lakshmaṇa (950-970)

Vajradāman (950-980)

Maṅgalarāja (980-1005)

Kirtirāja (1005-1030)

Mūladēva *alias* Bhuvanapāla and Trailōkyamalla

Devavrata (1030-1055)

Dēvapāla (1055-80)

Padmapāla (1080-1090) Mahipāla³ Mahipāla (1080-1155) Ratnapāla (1115 to?)

(2) *Dubkund Branch* (1000-1110)

Yuvarāja

Arjuna (1010-1030)

Abhimanyu (1030-50)

Vijayapāla (1050-1070)

Vikramasimha (1070-90)

1088

1. This ruler and his predecessor are mentioned with the expression *tat-pādārudhyāta*. The latter in each case may have been a son of the former. G.H. Ojha distinctly says so in course of noticing the Thākardā stone inscription in the *A.R.* of the Rājputānā Museum (1915-16, p. 3), but he has given no reading and the stone is now lost.
2. The dates of the kings of this house are differently given by different writers. See *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 835; *H.P.D.*, p. 106, n. 1. But in working out the dates here, I agree with S.K. Mitra, who took Vajradāman's career from about 950 to about 980 A.C. For details, see *L.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIX (1953), p. 91.
3. This ruler is mentioned as a brother of Padmapāla and a son of Śūtrapāla.

INTRODUCTION

(3) *Narwar Branch* (1075-1125)

Gaganasimha 1075-90

Śaradasimha (Śaratsimha) (1090-1105)

Virasimha (1105-1125?)

1120

IX. YAJVAPĀLA DYNASTY (1217-1300)

Chāhaḍa (c. 1242-54)¹

Nṛivarman

Āsalla (1254-79)

(1262-63) from inscription; 1254-79 from coins) 1262-63, 1270

Gōpāla (1279-89) 1279, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284

Gaṇapati (1290-1300)

1291, 1292,² 1294, 1298 from inscriptions; 1298 from coins.

1. His coins range from 1242? to 1259 See *C.M.I.*, p. 90, and *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol XVI, p. 80.
2. See *I.N.I.*, No. 6228. The stone is now not traceable.

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by

T.S. Ravishankar, M.A., and Jai Prakash, M.A.

The figures refer to pages, and *n* after a figure to foot-notes. The following other abbreviations also have been used *au* = author; *Br.* Brāhmaṇa; *ca* = capital; *ch.* = chief; *ci* = city; *co* = country; *com.* = composer; *de.* = deity; *dt.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *engr.* = engraver; *ep.* = epithet; *f.* = family; *fe.* = female; *feu.* = feudatory; *gen.* = general; *imp.* = imperial; *ins.* = inscription, inscriptions; *k.* = king; *la.* = locality; *l.m.* = linear measure, land measure; *m.* = male; *min.* = minister; *mo.* = mountain; *myth.* = mythological; *n.* = name; *off.* = office, officer; *pea.* = people; *pr.* = prince, princes; *q.* = queen; *reg.* = region; *rel.* = religion; *ri.* = river; *s.a.* = same as; *S.* = Southern; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *t.d.* = territorial division; *tit.* = title; *tk.* = taluk; *tn.* = town; *vi.* = village; *W.* = Western; *wk.* = work; *wt.* = weight.

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